

BUILDERS OF THE EMPIRE



By J. A. WILLIAMSON

ROXBURGHSHIRE EDUCATION COMMITTEE

COUNTY LIBRARY


Readers are requested to take great care of the books while in their possession. If a book is found to be damaged on its return to the Library, the Reader in whose name it was issued will make good such damage.

All books should be returned to the Library within fourteen days from the date of issue; but an extension of the period of loan may be granted. A fine of Twopence may be charged for every week or part of a week a book is kept beyond that period.

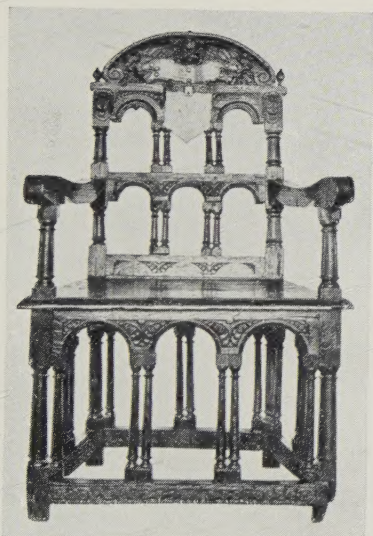
Students using the County Library are reminded that the special resources of the Scottish Central Library are available to them. Applications for service from the Central Library should be accompanied by particulars of the books desired. All such applications should be made through the County Librarian, Education Offices, Newtown St. Boswells.

No. 59.786 Class C. B.

1816



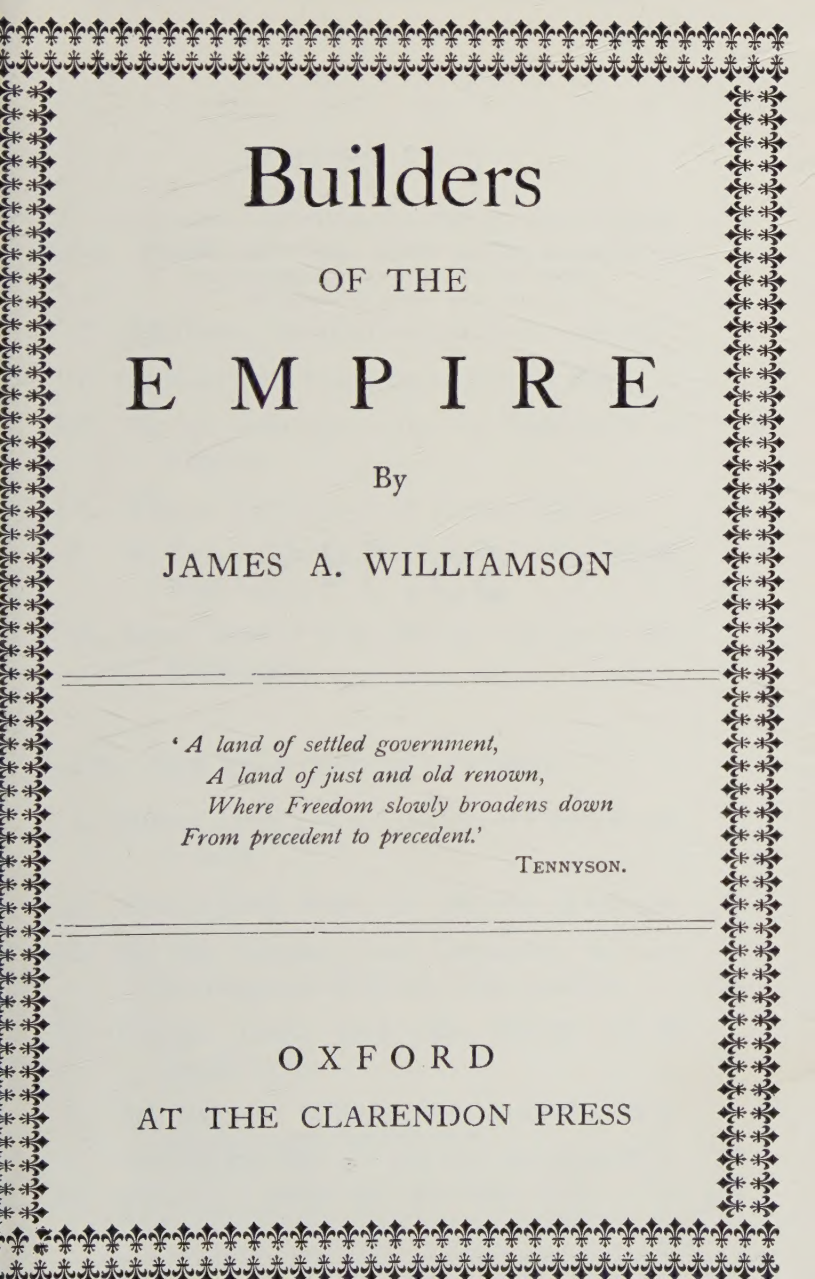
Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2023 with funding from
Kahle/Austin Foundation



*Chair made from timber of the 'Golden Hind', in which
Sir Francis Drake sailed round the World, 1577-80
(Bodleian Library)*



NELSON'S FIRST DAY IN THE NAVY



Builders

OF THE

EMPIRE

By

JAMES A. WILLIAMSON

*'A land of settled government,
A land of just and old renown,
Where Freedom slowly broadens down
From precedent to precedent.'*

TENNYSON.

OXFORD

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

Oxford University Press, Amen House, London E.C.4

GLASGOW NEW YORK TORONTO MELBOURNE WELLINGTON

BOMBAY CALCUTTA MADRAS KARACHI KUALA LUMPUR

CAPE TOWN IBADAN NAIROBI ACCRA

59.786

FIRST PUBLISHED 1925

REPRINTED 1931, 1938, 1941, 1945, 1949, 1952, 1957, 1960

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN

CONTENTS

	PAGE
Part I. PIONEERS OF THE OLD COLONIAL EMPIRE.	
I. John Cabot, the Discoverer of North America .	2
II. Sir Francis Drake and the Rise of the Navy .	13
III. Captain John Smith and the Foundation of Virginia	30
IV. William Bradford and the Pilgrim Fathers .	44
V. Sir Thomas Warner, the Founder of the British West Indies	55
VI. James, Duke of York, Patron of Sea Power and Colonization	67
Part II. THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.	
I. Robert, Lord Clive, and the Rise of British Power in India	80
II. General James Wolfe, the Conqueror of Canada	95
III. Sir Guy Carleton, Lord Dorchester, and the Development of British North America .	112
IV. Captain James Cook, the Pioneer of the Pacific Ocean	125
V. The Marquess Wellesley and the Expansion of British India	142
VI. Nelson	156

Part III. THE MODERN EMPIRE.

I. William Wilberforce and the Crusade against Slavery	174
II. Lord Durham, the Apostle of Responsible Government	189
III. Captain Charles Sturt, the Australian Explorer .	203
IV. Sir George Grey and the Rise of the Southern Dominions	217
V. David Livingstone, the great Missionary . .	233
VI. Sir Henry and Sir John Lawrence, Makers of Modern India	247
VII. Cecil Rhodes and the Expansion of British South Africa	264
VIII. Lord Kitchener	277

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

	PAGE
Nelson's First Day in the Navy. From the picture by Thos. Davidson in the Southampton Art Gallery, by permission of Mrs. C. E. F. Cheffins	<i>Frontispiece</i>
Newfoundland Stamps commemorating the four-hundredth anniversary of the Discovery of North America	2
A Fifteenth-Century Ship. From Cotton MSS., Jul. E. iv. 6, f. 25	5
A Passage from a MS. Chronicle recording John Cabot's second voyage. From Cotton MSS., Vitell. A. xvi, f. 173	9
Newfoundland Fishing Scene. From Moll's Atlas	11
Part of the Cantino Map, the earliest map showing Newfoundland	11
Letter written by Sir Francis Drake to Sir Francis Walsingham from the <i>Revenge</i> during the Armada fighting. From the Record Office Museum. Transcription:	
' Right ho[nourable]: this bearer cam a bourd the ship I was in in a wonderfull good tyme, and brought wt. [with] hym as good knowlege as we culd wish. His carefullnes therin is worthye recompence, for that God hath geven us so good a daye in forcyng the enemy so far to leeward, as I hope in God the Prince of Parma and the Duke of Sidonya shall not shake hands this ffewe dayes. And when so ever they shall meet I beleve nether of them will greatly rejoyce of this dayes service. The towne of Callys hath seene some pte [part] therof, whose mayor her maitie [Majesty] is beholding unto. Busines commands me to end. God blesse her ma ^{tie} our gracious soverayne and geve us all grace to leve in his feare. I assure y ^r ho[nour] this dayes service hath much apald the enemy & no doubt hath incoraged our army. From a bourd her maties good ship the <i>Revenge</i> this 29 th July 1588. Y ^r ho[nou r's]most redy to be comanded, Fra: Drake. [In margin] Ther must be great care taken to send us munycyon and victuall whether so ever the enemy goeth. Y ^{rs} . Fra: Drake.'	14-15
Sir Francis Drake. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford	17
Naval Warfare in the Time of Drake. From an engraving by Callot	19
The Spanish Treasure Route	21
The Strait of Magellan as shown by Jodocus Hondius, 1616	23
Cartagena and the neighbouring coasts. From Moll's Atlas	25
Queen Elizabeth's Prayer of Thanksgiving. From a MS. at Hatfield House. Transcription:	
' Most powreful and largist giving God, whose eares hit hathe pleasyd so benignly to grace the petitions of us thy devoted servaunt, not with even measure to our disiairs, but with far amplar favor, hathe not only protected our army from foes pray, and from seas danger, but hast decaied malisicius desonors, even having force to resist us, from having power to attempt or assaile them. Let humble acknowledgement and most reverend thanks sacrifice supply our want of skil to comprehend suche endles goodnis, and unspeakable liberalitie, even suche, good Lord, as our simple tounges may not include such wordes as merites suche laudes, but this vowe. Except, most deare God, in lieu of bettar merite that our brithes we hope to their last gaspis shal never cease the memoriall of suche flowing grace as thy	

	PAGE
bounty fills us with, but with suche thoghts shal end the world and keme to the. All thes with thy good grace we trust per- forme we shal.'	27
' The towne fyre cage.' From Cotton MSS., Aug. I, i. 18	28
Captain John Smith. From his Map of New England	31
An Indian of Virginia. From a drawing by John White, one of Raleigh's colonists	35
Pocahontas, commemorated by a United States postage stamp .	36
Another Portrait of Pocahontas. From Alexander Brown's <i>The Genesis of the United States</i> , vol. ii, by permission of Houghton Mifflin Co.	37
John Smith's Map of Virginia	39
An Advertisement by the Virginia Company. Reproduced by permission from a broadside in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries of London	41
Cavaliers maltreating Puritans. From <i>The Transactions of these Latter Years</i>	44
Agreement between the Pilgrim Fathers and the London Merchants. Taken from William Bradford's <i>History of Pli- mouth Plantation</i> by permission of Houghton Mifflin Co. . .	47
Merchantmen of the early Seventeenth Century. From <i>Cosmo- graphia Blaviana</i>	49
The New England Colonies	53
Coin of Massachusetts, 1652	54
A Carib. From Labat's <i>Nouveau Voyage aux Isles de l'Amerique</i> St. Kitts in the Seventeenth Century. From Du Tertre's <i>Histoire des Antilles</i>	57
The Lesser Antilles	59
Sir Thomas Warner's Tomb at St. Kitts. By kind permission of Mr. A. M. Losada	63
James, Duke of York. By gracious permission of H. M. the King .	65
English Colonies in North America, 1685	69
An African Slaving Post. From Moll's Atlas	71
The <i>Royal Prince</i> . From Vandervelde's Picture at the Hague .	73
Quaker Traditions in America. From an early Nineteenth- Century Print	75
Robert, Lord Clive. From Malcolm's <i>Life of Clive</i>	77
British and French Factories in India	81
Madras in the Time of Clive	82
Madras later in the Eighteenth Century	83
The Carnatic	85
Bengal	87
' Express Camel.' From a print in the United Services Museum .	89
Short sword worn by Wolfe at Quebec	91
British and French Colonies in North America, 1756	95
General James Wolfe. From the portrait by Gainsborough. Reproduced by the courtesy of the Editor of <i>The Connoisseur</i> .	97
Louisbourg in 1758. From the <i>London Magazine</i>	99
The Raw Material of Victory. Cartoon by Henry Bunbury (1750-1811). Reproduced by the courtesy of the Editor of <i>The Connoisseur</i>	101
Plan of the Siege of Quebec by an Officer who was present .	103
View of the taking of Quebec. Engraving of 1760	106-7
Medal of 1760, commemorating the Conquest of Canada (Ashmolean Museum)	109
	111

	PAGE
Sir Guy Carleton, Lord Dorchester	113
Canada under the Quebec Act	115
Canada, Lake Champlain and the Hudson River	119
A Seventeenth-Century View of Niagara Falls. From Moll's Atlas	123
The earliest map showing Niagara Falls. From Champlain's <i>Les Voyages de la Nouvelle France</i> , 1632	123
Portrait of Captain Cook from New South Wales Postage Stamp (1888-99)	125
Captain Cook. From the portrait by Nathaniel Dance, R.A., in the Gallery of Greenwich Hospital. (Photograph by Emery Walker)	127
A Coasting Vessel of Cook's Time. From the <i>Encyclopédie</i> <i>Méthodique Marine</i>	128
World-Map of Jodocus Hondius showing <i>Terra Australis Incognita</i>	129
Tasman's Voyage, 1642-3	131
A New Zealander of Cook's Time	133
Medal commemorating the sailing of the <i>Resolution</i> and <i>Adventure</i> (Ashmolean Museum), 1772	137
Natives of the Sandwich Islands	139
The Death of Captain Cook	141
The Marquess Wellesley. From a portrait in the Government House, Calcutta	145
British Trade and Expansion in India. Cartoon by Gillray, 1788	149
Indian Warfare in the early Nineteenth Century. From a print in the United Services Museum	151
India under Wellesley	153
Nelson's signatures. By kind permission of <i>The Times</i>	156
Nelson	157
A French ship of the line. From the <i>Encyclopédie Méthodique</i> <i>Marine</i>	161
The Battle of the Nile	164
Medal celebrating the Battle of the Nile. (Ashmolean Museum)	165
Facsimile of part of Collingwood's Trafalgar Dispatch. From <i>The</i> <i>Times</i> , 1805	169
Nelson's Tomb in the Crypt of St. Paul's	171
The End of <i>L'Orient</i> . From a contemporary broadside	172
An Anti-Slavery Token. (Ashmolean Museum)	174
A Slave Yoke. From <i>History of the Universities Mission</i> , 1897	175
An African Village, enclosed for defence against wild beasts and slave-raiders. From Francis Moore's <i>Travels into the Inland</i> <i>Parts of Africa</i>	177
The Island of Goree	177
William Wilberforce. From a portrait by J. Stewart	181
Slave Labour. A sarcastic cartoon drawn by Gillray in 1792	183
Stamps of Haiti and Liberia, the two black Republics	185
Emancipation of the Slaves. Cartoon by R. Cruikshank	186
Emancipation of the Slaves. Cartoon by J. Doyle	187
First Canadian Postage Stamp, with Beaver	189
Lord Durham	191
Canada and the Maritime Provinces, 1837	193
Louis Joseph Papineau (<i>Illustrated London News</i>)	195
Dominion of Canada	199
The Modern Dominion. Settlement encroaching on Forest, and Prairie Wheatfield	201

	PAGE
South Australian Postage Stamp (1855)	203
The Poacher's Punishment. A Broadside of the early 19th Century	205
Sydney in its early days. From Collins's <i>Account of New South Wales</i> , 1798	207
Australian Natives; a Rite of Initiation. From Collins, <i>op. cit.</i>	209
Murray River. From Sturt's <i>Expedition in Central Australia</i> , 1849	213
Port Adelaide in early days. From Sturt's <i>Expedition in Central Australia</i> , 1849	213
Early New Zealand Postage Stamp (1855)	217
Van Diemen's Land and Tasmania. Stamps of 1857-9, showing change of name	218
Australian Warriors with Spear and Sword	219
Sir George Grey (Photograph by Arthur Elliott)	221
New Zealand, with dates of settlements	225
Canterbury, New Zealand, in 1851. From a drawing by William Fox in <i>Canterbury Papers</i> , No. 11, 1851	227
South Africa, c. 1854	229
Signature of Livingstone	233
David Livingstone	235
Central and South Africa, to illustrate Livingstone's Travels	237
Fettered Slaves left to die. From Livingstone's <i>Last Journals</i> , 1874. By permission of Mr. John Murray	241
Livingstone ambushed in the jungle. From <i>Last Journals</i> , 1874. By permission of Mr. John Murray	243
Early Indian Postage Stamps (1852 and 1854)	247
Sir Henry Lawrence	249
A Bengal Army on the march, early Nineteenth Century. From a print in the United Services Museum	251
The NW. Frontier and its Political Importance	253
The Indian Mutiny. The Storming of Delhi, 1857. By permission of the Editor of <i>The Illustrated London News</i>	261
The Accession of the Queen of India. Cartoon of 11th Sept. 1858, by permission of the Proprietors of <i>Punch</i>	263
Stamp of the British South Africa Company	264
Cecil Rhodes (Photograph by Elliott and Fry)	265
A Kimberley Diamond Mine. By permission of the High Commissioner for South Africa	267
Dr. Jameson and his men escorted as prisoners. By permission of the Editor of <i>The Illustrated London News</i>	273
Transvaal Postage Stamp surcharged V.R.I. by the British during the Boer War, 1899-1902	277
Lord Kitchener. From the portrait in the National Portrait Gallery. (Photograph by Emery Walker)	279
Map of the Nile Campaigns	281
The Battle of Omdurman. By permission of the Editor of <i>The Illustrated London News</i>	283
General Cronje after the surrender. From <i>With the Flag to Pretoria</i>	287
A Blockhouse attacked but alert. By permission of the Editor of <i>The Illustrated London News</i>	289
A Proclamation for calling out the Army Reserve, &c.	291
The Lost Chief (June, 1916). By permission of the Proprietors of <i>Punch</i>	293

PART I

Pioneers of the Old Colonial Empire



Newfoundland stamps commemorating the four-hundredth anniversary of the discovery of North America. The portrait in the centre stamp is that of Sebastian Cabot. No portrait of John Cabot is known to exist

I

JOHN CABOT

The Discoverer of North America

GREAT numbers of men have spent their lives in the making of the British Empire. Some of them have passed long careers with their names ever in the public mouth; some have been prominent only for a year or two, achieving in a short space a work for which their whole life has been a training; the vast majority have never been known to fame at all, content if they could honestly repeat the words of the greatest man who ever led them, 'Thank God, I have done my duty.' John Cabot, the subject of this chapter, belongs to the second of these classes. He spent his youth and middle age in obscurity, made a great discovery in the course of two years, and then passed again out of view, so that no one can say when or where he died.

In the year 1485 Henry VII gained the English throne by his victory over Richard III at Bosworth Field. After nearly a century of unhappy foreign wars, civil wars, and revolutions, he introduced a period of firm government and peace. He was especially eager to do everything in his power to foster English trade, because he held that trade employed seamen

and created ships, and so assisted the national defence. It was said of him that ' he could not endure to see trade sick '.

English seamen already had a reputation for courage and enterprise. Under Edward III they had won the great battle of Sluys, and since then they had shown their mettle in many another fight which is now forgotten. As traders they ranged over all the seas of northern Europe, taking wool to Calais and cloth to the Low Countries and Germany, and fetching wines from France, Spain, and Portugal. One of their employments is especially notable, for it gave to Englishmen a training in long voyages: every spring a large fleet went northwards to the coast of Iceland to fish for cod. The crews remained all the summer, and came home in the autumn with cargoes of salt fish, which helped to feed the country during the lean winter months.

Henry VII encouraged all these trades, granting charters to the merchant companies, making laws for their protection, and seeing that they had fair play in foreign ports. In his reign Englishmen began to sail through the Strait of Gibraltar and into the Mediterranean, where they reached Venice and the Greek islands and the Turkish dominions of the Levant. It was a voyage which sometimes took twelve months from departure to return.

Under a wise and active King the nation became prosperous and enterprising. Just at that time there swept through Europe a new movement called the Renaissance, a revival of old knowledge and a desire to know more. Everywhere men were ceasing to be content with doing as their fathers had done. In books, buildings, and ships they sought to improve upon the past. They made great inventions, such as printing and new weapons of war. They discussed new ideas upon matters their forefathers had taken for granted—religion, government, the movements of the heavenly bodies, and the shape and size of the earth upon which they lived. Their minds became more active and they learned to think as men had not done for centuries before. The man of the

Renaissance, when confronted with a new idea, no longer said, ' My father did without this, therefore it is of no use to me ' ; his reply was rather, ' Let us try it, and see if it works.' The age of *experiment* had begun.

In particular this change was seen in the discovery of new seas and countries. Europeans before the Renaissance knew little of any continent but their own, and most of them knew little even of that. A few, like Marco Polo the Venetian, had made journeys by land across Asia. None had penetrated into Africa or sailed far down its coast. No one had the least suspicion that the great continent of America lay across the Atlantic. No one had yet thought of reaching India by a voyage round the Cape of Good Hope. The Portuguese were the first to break through this ring of ignorance. During the fifteenth century their captains went farther and farther down the west coast of Africa, until at length they reached its end, turned the corner, and found themselves in the Indian Ocean. Then in 1497 Vasco da Gama led a fleet of their ships by this path right across from Africa to India itself, and returned with rich cargoes of eastern spices.

In the meantime Spain also awoke, largely through the genius of one man, Christopher Columbus the Genoese. His idea was that rich discoveries could be made in the West, and like a true son of the Renaissance he would not rest until he had tried it. King Ferdinand gave him three ships in 1492, and soon he was back with news of fair islands, strange peoples, and hopes of wealth. He had found what we call the West Indies to-day ; but he thought he had been on the east coast of Asia, for the existence of America was yet unsuspected.

To England these stirring ideas came rather late, partly because before Bosworth Field she had been distracted with civil wars, partly because she was remote from the Mediterranean, on whose shores the Renaissance first began. But in England there was living in the time of Henry VII a man whose schemes were as novel as those of Columbus, and who

believed that if he were given the chance he could beat both Spaniards and Portuguese in the great game of discovery.



A fifteenth-century ship. Note the fighting-top for archers, and the guns projecting over the bulwarks. Gun-ports with lids had not yet been invented. From Cotton MSS., Jul. E. iv. 6, f. 25.

This man was John Cabot. Like Columbus he was an Italian, born in the same city of Genoa, although afterwards he became a subject of the rival state of Venice. He was bred a merchant and went east to Egypt and the Red Sea.

There he traded with the Arabs and heard stories of the vast wealth and luxury of the distant regions then called Cathay and Cipango, but which we know as China and Japan. To find a short way to these countries became his ambition, and he believed, also like Columbus, that he could solve the problem by sailing to the West. Men studied geography in those days with the aid of globes, and if we take a globe and blot out from its surface the map of America, there remains nothing but the open sea between Europe and eastern Asia. This was the inspiration both of Columbus and of Cabot.

Cabot was living at Bristol with his wife and family when in 1496 Henry VII visited the town. The merchant took the opportunity to explain his plans to the King, who granted him a charter to make discoveries of new lands and to enjoy a large share of the trading profits which would follow. English people were not yet thoroughly alive to the ideas of the new learning, and they were also very distrustful of foreigners. Cabot, therefore, had great difficulty in obtaining the command of a ship, and even with the King's recommendation he could only secure the use of a tiny vessel named the *Matthew* with a crew of eighteen men. Thus equipped he set forth on an expedition which Columbus had thought very perilous when the Spanish sovereigns had given him three ships and 130 men in 1492.

The *Matthew* sailed from Bristol in May 1497. John Cabot intended to push steadily westward until he should reach the outlying parts of Asia on the other side of the ocean. After a voyage of about six weeks he sighted land, finding it to be a wooded country with a temperate climate. He called the point Prima Vista or First Seen. The exact spot cannot now be recognized, but it is thought to have been on Newfoundland or the coast of Nova Scotia. He set up the royal standard of England and the banner of St. Mark, the patron saint of Venice. Then he coasted some way along the new shores, landing in places to learn something of the country. He saw no people, but he came upon sure signs of habitation,

such as trees felled by human hands, and snares for game; and in one place he found a needle of the kind used by fishermen for making nets. These things satisfied him that he was on the coast of Cathay, the mainland of Asia. We now know that he was mistaken and that he had discovered an entirely new continent, the mainland of North America. Columbus and the Spaniards had not yet gone so far; they had at this time only reached the islands of the West Indies.

Supplies of food were now running short, and Cabot decided to return with his news. He sailed back to Bristol, and thence travelled post haste to London to see the King. What he had to say was this: that a short and easy voyage had brought him to the outer parts of Cathay, with a cool climate like that of Europe; but that if he were supplied with more ships and men next year he could lead them on southwards and westwards down the new coast to the region where the spices grew, where gold and pearls and precious stones could be had, where the Chinamen dwelt in wealthy cities, greater than those of Europe, and went clad in silks and rich fabrics which would make the fortune of any merchant who would venture a cargo in exchange. He had a globe and a great chart of his own making, which showed these things, and he explained them before the court and the merchant venturers, much as an explorer of our day gives lectures and shows photographs of what he has found.

The Londoners went wild with excitement, and King Henry, as cool a man as any in his realm, shared their enthusiasm. He created Cabot an Admiral and granted him money from the privy purse to support his new dignity. The people cheered the discoverer in the streets. Their imagination was fired by the thought of the silks and pearls and spices, and of the wealth which would flow into England from the monopoly of the richest trade in the world. Had Cabot been able to tell them the real truth they would have been more sober. For in fact this new land was to bring wealth to no man then living, nor even to their sons or grand-

sons. It was not by huge and easy profits that England was to expand over the earth, but by hard toil for little reward, by the painstaking work of centuries. All this was hidden from Cabot and the men of his day, and when they began to understand it they were very much disappointed. But at length their descendants accepted their destiny and made the best of it, raising by slow degrees a greater empire than any they could have founded upon the dazzling promises of 1497.

For the moment all seemed well. Cabot went back to Bristol to prepare for his next voyage. In May 1498 he sailed once more with five ships laden by the merchants of London and Bristol with the King's assistance. Out he went into the Atlantic, bound for the land of promise, and from that day onwards not a word is certainly known about his fate. A mist descends upon the records of the time, and through it we can discern only vague rumours and contradictory stories. From them it is supposed that the expedition crossed the seas, found no wealthy lands or profitable merchandise, and came back with failure to report at the end of the year. There is some reason also to believe that John Cabot lived a few months more at Bristol and died there in 1499. But of this nothing is certain, except the fact that he never reached Cathay, for the great mass of America lay like a barrier between him and his goal.

It is strange that we know so little of a great man's discovery and of the end of his life, especially as the voyages of his fellow countryman, Columbus, are recorded in great detail. The explanation is that Columbus had a faithful friend, the Bishop Las Casas, and a son who revered his father's memory and saved it from being forgotten. John Cabot, on the other hand, had a son Sebastian, who seems to have been jealous of his father's fame and to have done his best to destroy the memory of his achievements. But for this, John Cabot might well stand out as the equal of Columbus in the roll of the world's heroes, for he made as

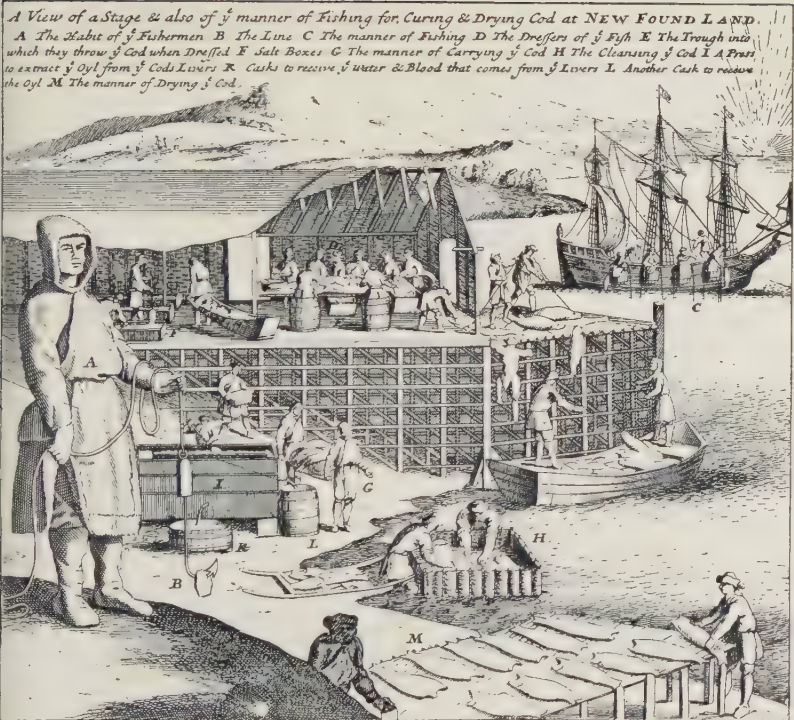
This yere the kyng at the besy request and Supplicacon
of a Straunger venisian which by a Caart made hym self expert in knowyng of the world caused
the kyng to manne a ship w^t vytail & other necessities
for to seche an Iland wheryn the said Straunger
Surmysed to be grete comodities / w^t which Ship
by the kyngs grace so Rygged went iii or iii moo date
of Bristowe the said Straunger beyng conditor of
the said fflete / wheryn dyuers mēchaunts as well of
london as Bristow adventured goods & Sleight
mēchaundises which depte from the west
Cuntrey in the begynnynge of Somer but to this
p̄sent yere comē nevyr knowlege of their exployt.

A passage from a manuscript chronicle written by a London citizen in 1498. It records the setting forth, but not the return, of John Cabot's second voyage, as follows: 'This yere the kyng at the besy request and supplicacon of a Straunger venisian which by a Caart [chart] made hym self expert in knowyng of the world caused the Kyng to manne a ship w^t [with] vytail & other necessities for to seche an Iland wheryn the said Straunger Surmysed to be grete comodities. W^t which Ship by the Kynges grace so Rygged went iii or iiiiii moo [more] owte of Bristowe the said Straunger beyng conditor [conductor] of the said fflete. Wheryn dyuers mēchaunts [merchants] as well of london as Bristow adventured goods & Sleight mēchaundises which depte [departed] from the west Cuntrey in the begynnynge of Somer but to this p̄sent [present] moneth came nevyr knowlege of their exployt.' From Cotton MSS., Vitell. A. xvi, f. 173.

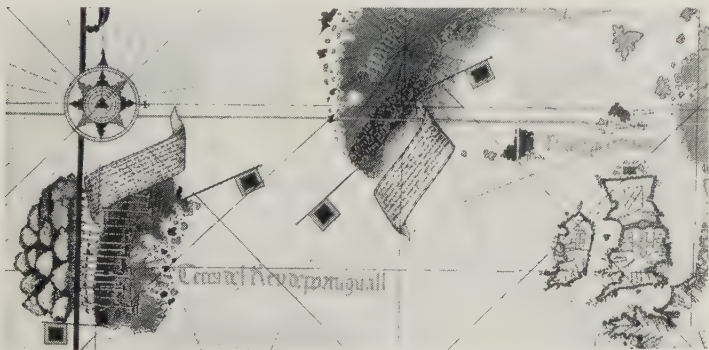
great a discovery and with scantier means than Columbus had at his disposal.

Sebastian Cabot was a young man in 1497, and he lived sixty years afterwards, dying at a great age in the reign of Queen Mary. Throughout his life he was a boaster, making a great story of his own discoveries and saying nothing about his father's, so that in the end the men of his time forgot all about John Cabot and believed that Sebastian was the first discoverer of North America. According to his own claims he did make a voyage in that direction, sailing into the north-west with two ships and trying to find a passage round North America into the Pacific, and so to reach the golden trade of Asia. But the ice checked his progress, and his men mutinied and forced him to turn back. He may, of course, have gone with his father in 1497, but he was certainly not the leader of that expedition, and is not entitled to the credit he claimed for it.

For Englishmen the discovery of North America led to few immediate results. It was a land peopled only by savages, and on its coasts there were no spices or gold mines. Long afterwards they found it a splendid region for the planting of colonies, but in Henry VII's time England itself was thinly peopled, and there was no large body of men ready to emigrate as in later days. So at first they set little value on America, and its existence provided them with a tough problem. This was the attempt to find a North-West Passage for trade with Asia. Many men spent their best efforts on the quest—Sir Martin Frobisher and John Davis in Elizabeth's reign, Henry Hudson and William Baffin under James I, Sir Thomas Button and Luke Foxe and many another. All failed to force their vessels through the northern ice, for although the Passage can be traced upon the map it is never sufficiently open for merchantmen to make trading voyages through it. Nevertheless the search was a school of seamanship and endurance, which was of great value to the country. Many of the fighting



Newfoundland fishing scene from Moll's Atlas (18th century) reproducing a 17th-century engraving.



Part of the Cantino Map made for the King of Portugal in 1505. It is the earliest map to show Newfoundland, which it names *Terra del Rey de portugall*.

men who drove the Armada to its doom had served their apprenticeship in the Arctic ice.

One new trade did spring from John Cabot's discoveries. That was the Newfoundland fishery. On his first homecoming in 1497 he reported the presence of great numbers of codfish round the new coasts, and in the succeeding years many of the men who had fished off the Iceland shore began to go westwards instead. Bristol, Plymouth, and Southampton sent large numbers of vessels every year to Newfoundland, and Sir Humphrey Gilbert proclaimed it an English possession in 1583. It was not until the seventeenth century, however, that a permanent English colony was settled there.



II

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE

and the Rise of the Navy

AFTER the Cabot discoveries of Henry VII's time and their brilliant but short-lived promise of a rich enterprise overseas, England turned aside to other matters. Under Henry VIII she waged wars with France and was caught up in the great religious movement known as the Reformation, itself a branch of the Renaissance. Henry dissolved the monasteries and made himself head of the English Church, and the struggle between the new and the old ideas absorbed the best energies of the nation during the reigns of Edward VI and Mary. Elizabeth succeeded in 1558 to the throne of a divided and weakened state. Her rule was not expected to endure for very long, but she disappointed the forecasts of her enemies, rallied her subjects to her support, and enjoyed a long and glorious reign in which her country took a great stride forward to its destiny of expansion across the sea. It was Elizabeth's peculiar talent to attract to her service able men in every walk of life. She gave them no great rewards; more often she rated them rather than praised them. Yet they served her loyally, worshipped the ground she walked upon, and swore she was the most beautiful woman in the world long after her cheeks had faded and her hair was grey. William Cecil, Lord Burleigh, takes the highest place among her statesmen, and among the men of action, Francis Drake.

Drake was in truth a child of the Reformation. Not long after he was born (in Devon in 1545) his father was obliged to fly to another part of the country on account of his

Right Hon: his Honor was a Count. He was
 in a wonderful good name and honor
 and he was a great favorite, as we well
 know. His excellency again it was
 necessary for him to take care
 of his good name, it is for him to
 be so to be so, as I told
 you the prince of Parma and the
 Duke of Burgundy, shall not be able
 to do it for his right, and
 upon the other side shall not be able
 to do it for his right, and



Letter written by Sir Francis Drake on board the *Revenge* during the Armada fighting.

Protestant opinions. Taking his family with him he went into Kent, and served for some years as chaplain to the King's ships in the Medway. There Francis Drake grew up in daily contact with seamen and with ships of war and peace. Very naturally he went to sea himself when he was old enough. Not much is known of this part of his life, but he seems to have spent some years in trading voyages about the seas of Europe, and in 1565 he took part in an expedition to Africa and the West Indies.

At this period England was beginning to realize how much she had lagged behind in colonization and trade with other continents. Portugal claimed all Africa and the eastern seas, Spain all America and the islands near it. Both powers forbade any but their own merchants to trade with their possessions, and for England there seemed nothing left. One result of this was to encourage Englishmen to make those persistent efforts to find the North-West Passage of which we have already spoken. If they had found it, they would have had an exclusive route of their own to the East. But on men of a more pugnacious temper the effect of the Spanish-Portuguese monopoly was different. They considered it unjust, and they determined to break it. From 1553 onwards many English captains sailed to the coast of Africa and traded with the negroes for gold, ivory, and spices. The Portuguese objected, but they found that the only way to preserve their monopoly was to fight for it.

John Hawkins, a merchant of Plymouth, improved upon this idea of an African trade. He knew that the Spanish planters in the West Indies were in need of labour for their plantations and that they obtained negro slaves for that purpose from the Portuguese. He determined to take part in this slave trade himself, for large profits were to be made in it. He therefore led an expedition to West Africa in 1562, captured a number of negroes, and sold them in the West Indian colonies of Spain. He repeated the adventure in 1564, again with great success. Spain protested, and Queen

Elizabeth forbade Hawkins to sail again on the same business in 1565. He himself stayed at home, but his ships went out as before under another commander. It was on this voyage that Drake sailed as one of the junior officers, although nothing is known about his personal doings.

In 1567 Hawkins prepared a greater expedition than ever before. He had overcome the Queen's scruples, and she even lent him two ships belonging to the Navy. He sailed with a fleet of six vessels, the largest being the *Jesus of Lubeck*, a warship of 700 tons. Drake went in command of a small craft named the *Judith*. On the African coast they captured a great crowd of negroes, and then they sailed over to the Spanish Main, by which is meant the northern coast of South America, between Trinidad and the Isthmus of Panama. At various places on the Main they sold most of their negroes and obtained valuable goods in exchange. The



SIR FRANCIS DRAKE

Spanish governors had received orders from King Philip to forbid this, but Hawkins overcame their objections either by force or by bribes. Leaving the Main he followed the usual homeward track through the Gulf of Mexico. There a hurricane struck the fleet and damaged the *Jesus* so badly that it was needful to seek a port in which to make repairs. Close at hand lay San Juan de Ulua, the roadstead through which passed all the trade of the great Spanish possession of Mexico.

Hawkins entered the port, assured the Spaniards that he

came as a friend, and set about his repairs. Next day a strong fleet from Spain appeared, and Hawkins admitted it to the harbour on promise of friendly conduct. But the Spaniards meant mischief. They brought up soldiers from the interior, and suddenly fell upon the dismantled English ships. In spite of the surprise, Hawkins made a good defence, but he was badly outnumbered. The action continued all day, and at nightfall the survivors of the English had to withdraw. Hawkins escaped in one ship, Drake in another. The *Jesus* and three smaller ones were lost.

These things had happened in time of peace, but although the English Government complained to King Philip it could obtain no redress. In those days there was little law at sea, and men had to right their own wrongs. Hawkins, a middle-aged man, made no more slaving voyages. Instead, he entered the Queen's service and supervised the building of those splendid warships which afterwards thrashed the Armada. Drake, a younger man, was hot for vengeance, and he took it in his own fashion.

The most valuable merchandise which Spain drew from her colonies was the silver from the mines of Peru. The Peruvian coast, as the map shows, is on the west side of South America. The treasure had, therefore, to be shipped from the Peruvian ports up the coast to Panama. There it was unladen and carried across the Isthmus on muleback to Nombre de Dios; and there again it was put on board ship for Spain. The treasure-route thus fell into three stages, two by sea and one by land. There was another way from Peru, that by the Strait of Magellan. But it was so dangerous that the Spaniards never used it; and as will be seen later, they made the mistake of thinking that the English also could not use it.

Drake determined to right his wrongs by striking at the treasure-route. In 1570 and 1571 he made voyages in small vessels to the West Indies, picking up all the information he could get and paying his expenses by capturing prizes at sea. Then in 1572 he planned his first great stroke. He



NAVAL WARFARE in the time of Drake. A fight between sailing ships and galleys
From an engraving by Callot.

sailed from Plymouth with two ships and reached a little natural harbour which he had found near the Isthmus. There he fitted together some pinnaces, small sailing boats which he had brought out in pieces from England. In them he led a party of men along the coast and fell upon Nombre de Dios early one morning before the Spaniards were awake. He captured the town at the first rush, but was wounded in doing so, although he said nothing about it. Just as his men were breaking open the treasure-house, however, he fell down senseless from loss of blood. His followers then thought of nothing but getting their captain away, and so the attempt failed. All went back to the secret harbour, and there Drake recovered from his wound. His next business was to make friends with the Maroons, runaway slaves of the Spaniards, who lurked in the woods. The Maroons guided him through the wild country of the Isthmus until he and his men reached the road running from Panama to Nombre de Dios. Here at last success awaited him. He ambushed a mule train, found it laden with gold and silver, and got away with a great part of the spoil. He sailed into Plymouth on a Sunday morning in 1573, and the people ran out of church when the news was whispered round, leaving the parson to finish the service by himself.

The Spanish ambassador made indignant protests to the Queen, demanding the punishment of Drake and the return of the treasure. Elizabeth returned soft answers, but had no intention of yielding; and to make things easier for his mistress, Drake disappeared from view for a time, so that she could plead that she could not lay hands on him.

In 1577 he came forward again with a fresh plan for attacking the treasure-route. This time he meant to do it by passing through the Strait of Magellan and raiding the coast of Peru itself. The Spaniards believed that the voyage was impossible owing to the dangers of the Strait, and they were so confident of this that they had not a single armed ship on the Peruvian coast. Drake sailed with five ships. Before

entering the Strait he destroyed two of them and placed all their men in the remaining three. Then he passed through, in danger from sharp rocks, treacherous currents, and sudden squalls which came howling down the mountain sides. The worst peril was still to come. An awful hurricane, such as



no man had seen before, struck the little squadron. One ship turned back and went home through the Strait. Another sank with all hands. Drake alone in the *Golden Hind* pressed on.

Slowly he struggled up to the warmer latitudes, repaired his ship and rested his men, and then fell like a bolt from the blue upon the Spanish towns. Scarcely anywhere did he meet with resistance. The Spaniards, in fact, killed not one

of his men, although the hardships and the hurricanes had taken a terrible toll of lives. Drake, on his side, killed no Spaniards, and when he took prisoners speedily released them. Working his way profitably up the coast he heard of a great treasure-ship making for Panama ahead of him. He came up with her by night and took her after a single broadside. From her he obtained so much treasure that the *Golden Hind* was actually ballasted with silver.

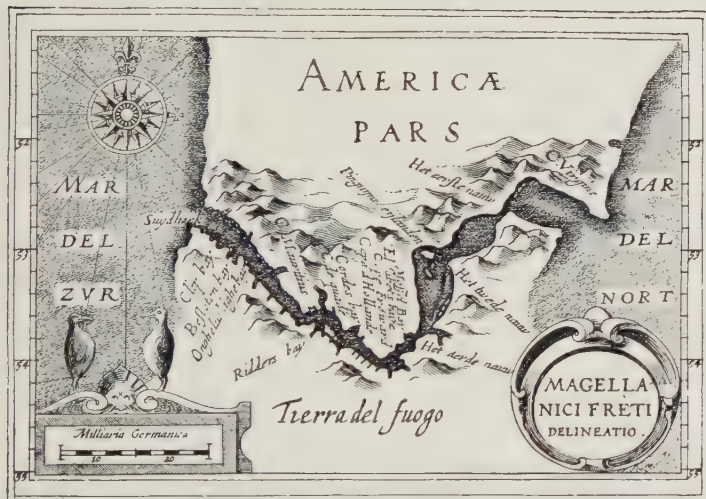
The next task was to make for home. Drake's secret was never to do what his enemies expected, and he did not go back through the Strait. He sailed northwards, overhauled his ship on the coast of what is now called California, and then struck across the Pacific, through the Spice Islands, across the Indian Ocean, round the Cape of Good Hope, and up the Atlantic to England. He reached home in 1580, having sailed round the world in a three years' voyage.

As before, Spain made a great outcry. Elizabeth answered by visiting Drake and knighting him on the deck of the *Golden Hind*. From that moment war with Spain was in sight, but King Philip was slow in his preparations, and the struggle did not begin for several years.

The first part of Drake's career was now over. He appears no more as a privateer fighting for his own hand. Henceforward he is a great Admiral leading the Queen's Navy in a national quarrel; and just as he had invented new means of hunting treasure-ships, so now he invented new ways of handling fleets, such as no man had imagined before.

In 1585 Philip seized all the English merchantmen trading in Spanish ports—all save one, whose crew threw overboard the officers who came to arrest them, and escaped home with the news. At the same time Drake made ready a new expedition to attack the West Indies. The reason was that Philip was building the Great Armada, and he depended on the treasure from the West to supply him with the means. Drake went out determined to stop the treasure fleets for that

year. He landed first at Vigo on the soil of Spain itself, did great damage, and then passed on to the main business. Sailing by way of the Cape Verde Islands, he made a quick crossing of the Atlantic and appeared at San Domingo, the chief town of the West Indies. By rapid and bewildering movements he beat the Spaniards out of the place, destroyed



The Strait of Magellan as shown in the map of
Jodocus Hondius, 1616.

all warlike stores, and exacted a heavy ransom for the buildings. Next he passed over to Cartagena on the Spanish Main. He took it by storm, his men wading through the surf to avoid the Spanish guns trained upon the higher part of the beach. After more destruction and another ransom he went on to the Spanish colony of Florida and served it in the same fashion. Altogether, he took 240 guns and much other booty, and put back Philip's preparations for a year. This was the first time the English Navy had served across the ocean. Hitherto it had never fought outside the Channel and the

North Sea. Old-fashioned seamen were astonished at the performance.

Philip II was a man of infinite patience and perseverance, and although Drake's work had delayed his preparations, he was not to be turned from his purpose. The design of the Great Armada for the conquest of England went slowly forward. In the spring of 1587 great numbers of ships were completed in the Spanish ports, and Philip hoped to launch the invasion that year. But there was much still to be done in rigging, arming, and victualling the fleet, and ere it could set forth, Drake was down upon the Spanish coast with the choicest fighting ships of the English Navy. His first point of attack was Cadiz, a great landlocked harbour overlooked by Spanish forts and batteries. Drake determined to go in and tackle the Spanish vessels at once, for he knew that many of them were not ready to fight. It was reckoned a mad thing for wooden ships to venture within range of forts on shore, and William Borough, the elderly Vice-Admiral, was aghast. He made a strong protest to Drake, and was put under arrest for his pains. The attack went forward and succeeded brilliantly. After a heavy cannonade the Spanish fleet was ruined. Some of its ships were carried off, and many more were burned as they lay immovable for want of rigging. Then the English squadron lay off the coast, paralysing all Philip's preparations and making valuable captures. Amongst these was a large consignment of barrel-staves from the Mediterranean, a loss which was destined to cost Spain more lives than a great battle would have done.

Drake had 'singed the King of Spain's beard', and the invasion was put off for another year. Philip, undismayed, began doggedly all over again. His harsh and stinging letters goaded his officers to new exertions, but they helped to drive his Admiral, Santa Cruz, into the fever of which he died. This was a new loss, for Santa Cruz was a good seaman, and in his place Philip appointed the incompetent Duke of Medina Sidonia.

At length, in the summer of 1588, the Armada began once more to be ready for sea. Drake wished to attack it in its own ports as he had done before, but Elizabeth was seized with a panic lest it should slip past him and find England unprotected. She therefore insisted upon the English fleet remaining in the Channel.

In July the Armada sailed, with an inexperienced Admiral, crews composed of different nationalities—Spaniards, Portu-



Cartagena and the neighbouring coasts. The beach edged by a dotted line is that along which Drake led his men to attack the town. See p. 21. From Moll's Atlas.

guese, Italians, and Flemings—and provisions and water carried in casks of unseasoned wood which quickly bulged and leaked. Its orders were to pass up the Channel with as little fighting as possible, and to take under its convoy the army of the Duke of Parma in the Spanish Netherlands. This force was to land in southern England, advance on London, and drive Elizabeth from the throne.

At Plymouth lay the English Fleet commanded by Lord Howard of Effingham, with Drake as his Vice-Admiral. Howard, like Sidonia, had no great experience of the sea, and it was Drake's wits which really directed the campaign.

When the Armada came abreast of Plymouth the English came out and hung upon its skirts as it sailed up Channel. At once the difference between the two fleets appeared. The Spaniards were high built and slow, crowded with soldiers for close fighting, and but lightly armed with guns. They moved in stiff lines abreast like an army on land. Hawkins, whilst in charge of the English dockyards, had built low-lying handy ships, nimble as eels in comparison with the Spaniards, and armed with large hard-hitting guns. Drake used these vessels to the best advantage, dividing them into small squadrons, in which the ships followed one another in line ahead, pouring in their broadsides one after the other, and dashing away to reload before the enemy could grapple and board. It was disheartening work for the Spaniards, who were already short of food and water and suffering from sickness. But after a week they neared Calais, and promised themselves that they would soon pick up the Duke of Parma and take their revenge on English soil.

Off Calais the Armada anchored, while messengers went overland to Parma. Drake and the English leaders had no mind to allow this junction to be made under their noses. On the night of arrival at Calais they sent fireships blazing into the Spanish ranks. A wild panic broke out, every Spaniard cutting his cable and making off out of reach of the danger. Order was impossible in the darkness, and when day dawned Sidonia found his fleet scattered for miles along the Flemish coast, driving steadily before a westerly wind upon the sands which line these low shores. The Armada was between two perils; on one hand the English guns, on the other the Flemish sands with the rebel peasants waiting to cut the throats of those who survived the wreck. All day the battle raged, mainly off the port of Gravelines. Several Spaniards were sunk or driven ashore, and in the evening it seemed as though all the rest must suffer the like fate, when suddenly the wind changed and drove the battered fleet out into the North Sea. The English Admirals were disappointed,

Scotland and the Hebrides, where no Spanish pilot had ever been before. Ship after ship, with rigging cut up or timbers riddled with shot holes, sank or went ashore. In the others the leaky water casks and the foul provisions caused the



'The towne fyre cage.' A beacon fire lighted to warn the countryside of the approach of an invader. This one was used at Brighton in 1545. From Cotton MSS., Aug. I. i. 18.

deaths of a multitude of those who had survived the fighting. Sidonia reached Spain with little more than a third of his force.

For Drake the Armada fight was the highest point of his career. His work was done; it was that of teaching England how to use her sea power. His good fortune now deserted him. In 1589 he went down to the coast of Portugal with a great fleet and a land army. The expedition was a failure,

mainly owing to the unwisdom of the soldiers, but Drake shared the blame. For years he was out of favour with the Queen, whilst other men commanded the English fleets. Then in 1595 his turn came again. He and Sir John Hawkins were commissioned to attack the West Indies as had been done so triumphantly ten years before. But in those ten years Philip had learned his lesson and had fortified his colonies. At Porto Rico the expedition failed, and had to withdraw, the aged Hawkins dying in his cabin as the guns thundered over his head. At Panama there was another failure, and every other point was too strongly guarded to be attacked. Drake was loath to give up, but sickness seized him. He died in 1596, and was buried at sea off the coast which had witnessed his early successes as an unknown privateer five-and-twenty years before. In those days England had been despised as a feeble third-rate power; now she was the queen of the seas. And it was to Drake more than any other man that the change was due.

III

CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH

and the Foundation of Virginia

THE English, led by John Cabot, had discovered North America, but for nearly a century they were disappointed with their prize and did not see how to make use of it. In those hundred years, however, England itself became a different country. Henry VIII dissolved the monasteries, and nearly one-third of the soil changed hands. Its new owners, merchants and courtiers, made great changes in the methods of agriculture. They broke up the old traditional tillage and placed large areas under grass for the pasturing of huge flocks of sheep. The wool fed the rising English cloth manufacture, and the national wealth increased. But, as in all times of change, there was a great deal of hardship. Peasants, turned out of their holdings, wandered about begging and stealing as tramps and 'masterless men'. The cloth weavers and other craftsmen depended partly on foreign trade for their employment, and the wars caused frequent stoppages of trade. In spite of these distresses there was, curiously enough, a large increase of the population. To thinking men of Elizabeth's reign it seemed that England was becoming dangerously overcrowded, and so at last we find colonization proposed as a remedy.

Sir Humphrey Gilbert tried first. In 1583 he led an expedition to plant a colony in Newfoundland or Nova Scotia. He hoisted the English flag in Newfoundland, but did nothing further, for shortly afterwards his largest ship was wrecked and the stores for the new colony were lost. On the way

home he himself was drowned by the foundering of the *Squirrel*.

Next year Sir Walter Raleigh sent out two captains to explore the North American coast-line. They found a very pleasant country with islands and landlocked sounds near Cape Hatteras, and reported that it would be a good place for a colony. Raleigh called the find Virginia, in honour of the Queen. In 1585 he sent out his first band of settlers. Sir Richard Grenville took charge of them, planted them on Roanoke Island, and came home to recruit a larger party. But the first body became discontented and quarrelled with the Indians. Drake, on his return from his West Indian raid, paid them a visit to see how they were getting on, and they prevailed on him to give them a passage home. So the first Virginia colony came to an end. In 1587 Raleigh sent out a second. It rebuilt the abandoned fort at Roanoke and seemed to be doing well. But the Armada campaign broke off communication with England, for all ships were needed for home defence. When at length a relief party went out two years later it found that the colonists had vanished. From that day to this not a word has been learned about their fate. They were not massacred in their fort, for no bodies or graves were found there. They had gone away of their own accord, but whither or why remains a mystery.



CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH

From a corner of his Map of New England.

Raleigh had no more money to spend upon colonies, and the Spanish war absorbed the chief efforts of English adventurers until peace came with the accession of James I in 1603.

It was after the war, when England was crowded with unemployed fighting-men and richer than ever before, that the building of the British Empire began in earnest. The East India Company was making large profits from its first expeditions to the spice islands, merchants and noblemen had money to invest, and there was still the problem of the growing population to be dealt with. In 1606 James I chartered a new body called the Virginia Company, with power to plant colonies on a large extent of the American coast. The investors hoped to find gold and silver, to send home timber and pitch and hemp for use in shipbuilding, and perhaps even to hit upon a channel through the continent to the Pacific and the rich China trade beyond. For no one then knew how vast and solid a mass of land America really was. Some of the old maps show it as quite a narrow strip, with the Pacific Ocean almost touching the Atlantic. The Virginia Company's first expedition, therefore, sailed in 1606 with good hopes of success. Among its officers was a captain named John Smith.

John Smith was a Lincolnshire man, born in 1580. When only sixteen he had begun his career as a soldier of fortune, wandering hither and thither about the world wherever hard knocks and fame were to be got. He served two years with the French against the Spaniards, then two years with the Dutch in their interminable war of independence against the same enemies. Next he went to Italy and south-eastern Europe, fighting for the Austrians against the Turks, defeating champions in single combat, being captured at last and sold as a slave. But the Turk who bought Smith made a bad bargain, for his property took an early opportunity to knock him on the head and escape. In 1605 he was back in England, a tried and tough soldier, ready for any adventure the times had to offer. The wars were over, but there were

still two occupations for a man who loved risks. One was conspiracy; Guy Fawkes, also a soldier of fortune, tried that, and died for his share in the Gunpowder Plot. The other was colonization; and Smith, a loyal man and no traitor, entered the service of the Virginia Company.

The expedition sailed under the command of Captain Christopher Newport. He was to see the colonists settled and then bring the ships home. In a sealed packet, not to be opened until arrival, he carried the names of the men chosen as President and Council of the colony. The voyage was long, and quarrels broke out. Smith offended Newport and was put in irons, and even sentenced to death. But when the sealed list was opened he was found to be one of the Councillors, and so he had to be released.

In April 1607 the adventurers reached Chesapeake Bay, far to the northward of the point where Raleigh's colonists had settled. They entered the Bay and found a navigable river which they called the James. Forty miles from the sea they came to a place where a raised peninsula overhung the river and the water was deep close under the bank. Here they marked out a fort and constructed bastions and dwellings, naming the settlement Jamestown. Captain Newport made some excursions into the country, failed to discover gold or the western passage, and then laded his ships with cedar wood and sassafras, and sailed for home. He left a scanty stock of food with the colonists and promised to return with more in about five months.

Left to themselves, the settlers had two tasks to perform. One was to collect merchandise for the Company, the other to raise food for themselves. Neither was easy, for the only goods worth exporting were the cedar logs, which had to be cut down with axes and dragged to the fort; and as for food, they had arrived too late to plant corn for the harvest of 1607, and so had to rely upon trade with the Indians for a supply. The Indians and how to deal with them were a problem. They were divided into a number of petty

tribes all acknowledging the supremacy of a head chief named Powhatan. Some of them were hostile and some pretended friendship, but even these last were not to be trusted. They exacted high prices for their corn, stole anything they could lay hands upon, and murdered white men whom they caught alone in the woods. This made it difficult to help the food supply by the hunting of wild game. Before long the colonists of Jamestown were faced with starvation, and a terrible epidemic of fever broke out when the hot weather set in. Edward Wingfield, who had been chosen President of the colony, proved to be a poor leader. He could do nothing with the Indians and even neglected the defence of the fort, so that on one occasion it was nearly rushed by a surprise attack. Towards the end of the summer, when nearly half the settlers were dead, the survivors deposed him. They set up in his place a man named Ratcliffe, who did even worse.

Meanwhile John Smith had no mind to die of idleness and starvation in a fertile, pleasant land. He had been through hardship enough already in his soldiering days, and he spoke scornfully of his home-bred fellow adventurers, who grumbled because they could not find a shop or an ale-house at every corner ready to supply their wants. This made some of them hate him, but they had to admit that he saved many of their lives. For he saw that the Indians were the key to the situation. They had food supplies, and they must be induced to part with them, and by a mixture of kindness and firmness he made them do so. Leading a few resolute men like himself he paid visits to various tribes. Landing from his boat he would advance boldly towards the savages, making signs of friendship and offering beads or mirrors or such-like trifles as a bribe. The Indians would lay aside their arms, thinking they might see the white man's treasures first and murder him at their leisure afterwards. Then he would seize his opportunity to show them how he could hit a distant mark with his musket, and the terrifying noise generally



AN INDIAN OF VIRGINIA. From a water-colour drawing
by John White, one of Raleigh's colonists.

produced respectful treatment and a supply of corn. One chief he charmed with a pocket compass, and another he mystified by writing a letter and sending it by an Indian messenger to Jamestown. When the Indian returned with the articles which Smith had sent for there was great astonishment. None could understand by what magic he had spoken to his comrades so many miles away.

With the autumn of 1607 there came better days for the colonists at Jamestown. The fevers ceased with the hot weather, and those who were still alive recovered their health. Then autumn changed into a bitterly cold winter, no ships



Pocahontas, commemorated by a United States postage stamp. She is here shown in European dress such as she wore on her visit to England.

came from England with relief, and the shivering wretches again looked starvation in the face. They turned to Smith for another effort, and he set out once more to seek corn. Pushing up one of the numerous rivers of the country, he left his own two white companions with the boat and struck inland on foot. He had not gone half a mile through the woods when he heard an Indian

war-whoop and an English shout, and then all was silent. Going back he found his two men dead, riddled with arrows before they had time to snatch their muskets and fire a shot. At once the ambushed enemy sprang out upon him. He stepped backwards and fell into a bog, and before he could rise they had seized and bound him. He had need of all his wits and courage now.

His captors took him to their head King, Powhatan, who kept great state at a village in the interior. Powhatan spoke civilly and gave him food, but Smith did not hope too much from that. He knew that it was their way to show good manners to a prisoner, and then to kill him without mercy when the mood was on them. At length he was led into

a great hut where Powhatan sat amidst his braves. It was the place of execution, and two savages forced Smith's head down upon a flat stone, whilst another lifted a club to dash out his brains. But at that moment Pocahontas, the King's



Another portrait of Pocahontas.

daughter, sprang forward and threw herself upon Smith's body, refusing to move until the King promised to spare his life. Powhatan at last consented, and then, not being a man of half measures, swore friendship with the Englishman, received him as a member of the tribe, and made him chief of one of its villages. Smith was now free to go when and where he liked, and he promised to give the old King

two guns and a grindstone as soon as he should reach Jamestown again.

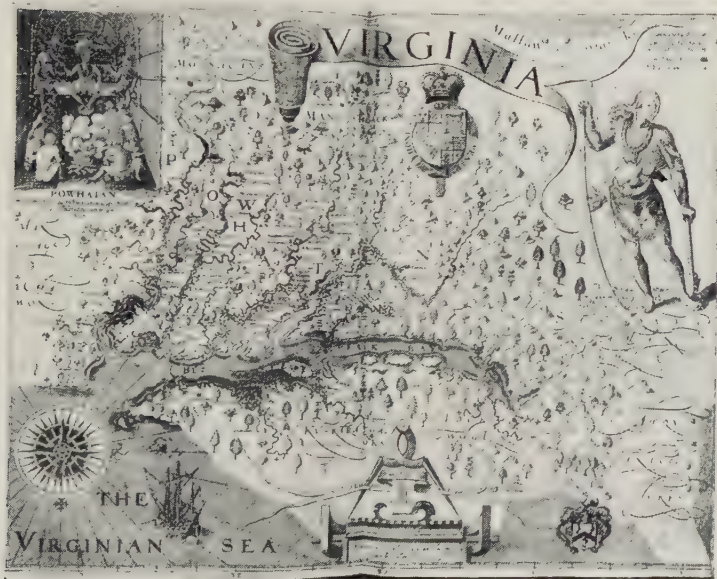
When he arrived at Jamestown he found that his enemies had been active in his absence. They arrested him and tried him for his life on a charge of causing the deaths of his two companions on the expedition. Fortunately, Captain Newport arrived with relief from England in time to stop this piece of folly, and perhaps to save Smith from being hanged.

Newport brought provisions and over a hundred new settlers who had come out expecting to pick up gold and silver, and who gave much trouble by their discontent with the reality of their position. The finding of some glittering grains in the sand of a river bed at first aroused great hopes. Nearly every one thought the stuff was gold, and Newport insisted upon lading his ships with the sand in the hope of extracting wealth from it at home. Smith alone seems to have disbelieved, and he was right, for the grains turned out to be mica, a useless commodity at that time. Perhaps he had read *The Merchant of Venice*, first printed in 1600, with its 'All that glisters is not gold, Often have you that been told', or he may even have seen Shakespeare enacting it at a London theatre. If so, he was not the only man who has found the great dramatist a mine of good counsel upon the practical affairs of life.

Seeing the folly and slackness of the colonists, and reading the ridiculous advice sent out by the wiseacres of London—which included a scheme to carry a pinnacle in sections right across America, and launch it on the Pacific coast—Smith seems to have had little hope for the colony as it was then being managed. But he was not the man to accept defeat, and he occupied the summer of 1608 in boat expeditions into all the recesses of Chesapeake Bay, with a view to preparing the ground for more fortunate undertakings in the future. With no training as a surveyor, and little equipment of mathematical instruments, he was able by common sense

and hard work to prepare a map of the bay which, as our illustration shows, was very close to the truth.

Returning in September he found that the colonists had deposed Ratcliffe and chosen himself as President. It was an office which he did not desire, but he made the best of it,



John Smith's Map of Virginia. The W. point is uppermost and the N. point to the right.

and turned to his new task with a will. He introduced discipline, of which there had been none before, and strengthened the defences of Jamestown. The previous year's harvest yielded too little food for all the new men who had come out, and it was still necessary to get corn from the Indians. They were growing tired of the English demands, and were becoming very difficult to deal with. On one occasion a party of them stole some gunpowder, which

they wetted in carrying it through the rain. They tried to dry it before a fire with the natural result that it blew them sky high, and after that they were less eager to possess the white man's magic. Pocahontas saved Smith's life for the second time by warning him of a surprise attack which was to be made by a tribe professing to be friendly.

In the meantime the authorities in England were growing alarmed at the weakness of the colony and its failure to send home valuable merchandise. In 1609 they decided to make a great effort. They prepared an expedition of nine ships and 500 men, and appointed Sir George Somers, a man of higher rank than Smith, to govern Virginia. Somers was wrecked on the voyage upon the uninhabited Bermuda Islands, and remained there ten months before he could build another ship to take him on to Jamestown. The story of his mishap inspired Shakespeare to write *The Tempest* and therein to cast away his characters upon a lonely island tenanted by a magician and a swinish monster named Caliban. Somers in real life found the Bermudas full of wild hogs which provided a useful stock of food. His eight other ships with the greater part of the 500 colonists arrived safely in August 1609. The Company had meant well in sending out this great body of men, but they had acted unwisely. For just as Smith had succeeded in reducing the old colonists to good order and hard work, he found everything upset by this flood of new-comers, a rabble whose heads were filled with the old false notions of easy wealth, and who began at once to eat up the hard-won stocks of corn. He did his best to warn them to provide for the coming winter, but they would not listen. But they were to be pitied as much as blamed, for nine men in every ten of them were destined to perish before a year was out.

Smith's time in Virginia was now growing short. He was seriously hurt by an explosion of gunpowder, receiving injuries which would have killed most men, and he expected Somers to appear at any moment to take over the command. He therefore took passage to England by one of the ships

returning in October 1609. He had been two and a half years in the colony, of which he was undoubtedly the true founder and saviour.

What he had been worth to Virginia was shown by the tragedy which followed his departure. There was no government and no leader worthy of the name. The disorderly mob

By the Counsell of Virginea.



Whereas the good Shippe, called the Hercules, is now preparing, and almost in a readinesse With necessarie Provisions, to make a supplie to the Lord Gouvernour and the Colonie in Virginea, it is thought meet (for the auoiding of such vagrant and vnnessearie persons as do commonly profer themselues, being altogether vnseruiceable) that none but honest sufficient Artificers, as Carpenters, Smiths, Coopers, Fishermen, Brickmen, and such like, shall be entertained into this Voyage: of whom so many as will in due time repaire to the house of Sir Thomas Smith in Whilpot lane, With sufficient testimonie of their skill and good behaviour, they shall receiue entertainment accordingly.

An advertisement by the Virginia Company for 'honest sufficient Artificers' to go to Virginia. Sir Thomas Smith here mentioned was the Treasurer of the Company; he was not related to Captain John Smith.

wasted the food in reckless gluttony, and when it was gone they sold their weapons, clothes, and tools to the Indians for more. As winter came on they would not even go to the woods for fuel; they preferred to burn the palisades which defended the fort. And then, when the Indians had everything of value they had once possessed, there came sheer starvation. When Sir George Somers at length sailed up the river in May 1610, he was met by sixty ragged skeletons, the only survivors of the five hundred inhabitants of 1609.

This was the lowest point the colony reached, and after-

wards affairs took a turn for the better. Smith and others of experience who went home were at last able to make the Company understand what was wanted, and it became the rule to send out full supplies of food with each new batch of settlers, enough for them to live upon until their own crops should be ready. Other changes followed, with the result that in a few years Virginia became a prosperous colony. John Rolfe, one of the new settlers of 1609, made experiments in tobacco planting, and quickly showed that this was a profitable industry. This man is also notable as having married Pocahontas, who had always been a good friend to the English. He brought her to England and presented her at Court, where James I and his Queen treated her very kindly. Unhappily she was taken ill and died at Gravesend whilst waiting to set sail again for Virginia. In the colony the Governors who succeeded Smith ruled firmly and were allowed by the Company to make grants of land to the best of the settlers. This reform had a great effect, for a man who had been an idle servant of the Company would often work with a will for his own interest. Finally, in 1619 a representative Government was set up, in which burgesses elected by the colonists met in an Assembly to take counsel with the Governor appointed from home. Virginia had by 1623 pulled through its worst troubles. In that year the Company was abolished, and the colony was taken under the control of the Crown.

The experience gained in Virginia enabled Englishmen to avoid many mistakes in planting later colonies, which they did with great energy in the reigns of James I and Charles I. Our next chapter will deal with the Pilgrim Fathers and their neighbours in New England, and after that we shall have something to say of Sir Thomas Warner in the West Indies. Besides these colonies there were settlements in the Bermudas, dating from Sir George Somers's shipwreck in 1609; Newfoundland, begun by John Guy in 1610; and Maryland, founded by Lord Baltimore in 1634. None of these colonies

suffered in their early years so heavily as Virginia had done, and this was largely because the work of the Virginia pioneers had shown them what to do and what to avoid.

John Smith never returned to Virginia, but he had still adventures in store. In 1614 he made a voyage of discovery along the northern part of the American coast-line. To this he gave the name of New England, which has been used ever since ; and in his practical fashion he made a good map which was very serviceable to the men who afterwards colonized this region. A second voyage by Smith in 1615 was cut short by an encounter with a squadron of French pirates. They captured him and took him with them on a long expedition, in which he had many hairbreadth escapes before he reached England again. After this he stayed at home, for although still young in years he was growing old before his time. He had suffered wounds, starvation, and fevers enough to have killed any but the toughest of men, and he was a little downcast by the way in which the Government and the Company had passed over his great services. He had done work such as few men have done for no reward ; and at that very time worthless courtiers were receiving showers of knighthoods, peerages, and grants of land and wealth at the hands of James I and his son. But, after all, that was the grievance of a moment ; John Smith is able to cry quits with the idlers now.

He spent his later years in writing accounts of his adventures and those of other men, and in preaching to his countrymen the mission of colonization. He died in London in 1631, leaving no fortune but the little farm in Lincolnshire which had been his father's before him.



Cavaliers maltreating Puritans. From *The Transactions of these Latter Years*, c. 1645.

IV

WILLIAM BRADFORD

and the Pilgrim Fathers

ABOUT eighteen months after the Armada had come and gone—that is to say in March 1590—there was born in the village of Austerfield a farmer's son named William Bradford, destined to write his name in prominent letters upon the history of the British Empire and the United States.

Austerfield lies on the Great North Road, a few miles from the little town of Scrooby in the corner of the county of Nottingham which juts northwards towards the Humber. In this region during the early years of James I there dwelt a number of people holding those Puritan views of religion which were to obtain so powerful a hold upon the English nation as the Stuart period unrolled. Their leader at this time was William Brewster, postmaster of Scrooby, and about 1607 they received a recruit in John Robinson, a Cambridge graduate, who had been a clergyman of the Church of England, but had resigned his position owing to his doubts of the truth of the doctrines he was required to preach.

As William Bradford grew old enough to form his own opinions he also joined the Scrooby Puritans. He was a boy of no great physical strength, but of considerable mental gifts. It is unlikely that he went to a good school, but it is certain that he managed somehow to educate himself. For in after years he displayed that knowledge, wisdom, and breadth of mind which letters alone can foster in an active brain, and which mark as sure a difference between the man who reads and the man who does not, as one can observe between a well-tended garden and a patch of waste ground.

The English Puritans were not at first Nonconformists. Originally they considered themselves members of the Church of England, and hoped to alter its policy by the pressure of their own views acting from within. But in the later years of Elizabeth and in the reigns of James I and Charles I they saw this hope disappointed. The Crown and the bishops went steadily in the direction opposite to theirs, and one by one the Puritan congregations broke off their connexion and confessed themselves at variance with the established Church. The Puritans who did this were known as Separatists. The Scrooby body early took the decisive step, about the close of the year 1606, and having done so they found themselves in a difficult position. There were laws in existence to compel attendance at church and to impose fines upon dissenters. But probably a worse hardship was the hatred and contempt of the great majority of their neighbours, which must have made it hard for them to earn their living in a rustic community where every one took an interest in every one else's business. These conditions determined the Scrooby Puritans to emigrate to the Dutch Netherlands, the one country of northern Europe which practised toleration for various grades of Protestant opinion.

Naturally they wished to go as well provided as possible, which meant selling their bulky goods and taking with them their money and portable possessions. The law at that time

forbade any one to leave the realm without licence, and the licence seldom permitted any persons to carry gold or silver with them, since this was thought to impoverish the whole country. Accordingly, they decided to escape without seeking permission. In the summer of 1607 they travelled overland to Boston, on the coast of Lincolnshire, and bargained with a ship's captain to carry them across the North Sea. But as soon as they were on board he betrayed them to the magistrates, and they were all arrested for breaking the law. Justice, however, was not very hard upon them, and they seem to have been sent back to their former homes without punishment. In the following year they tried again, going in boats down the Trent and the Humber to a lonely spot on the coast where a Dutch ship was to pick them up. This time some of the party had got safely on board when a crowd of the country people captured the remainder. The Dutch captain hoisted sail and took those who were with him to Amsterdam. The others were again imprisoned, but the magistrates did not know how to deal with them, and seem to have connived at their escape. By the autumn of 1608 the whole congregation, over a hundred in number, were reunited in the Netherlands.

After a brief stay at Amsterdam they moved to Leyden, a busy town where they could hope to make a living in trades such as cloth weaving and printing. Life in this way must have been hard for men who had little skill at anything but farm work, but they overcame their handicap and kept their community together for nearly twelve years. At Leyden they enjoyed toleration, holding their services in a building of their own without interference from the authorities. But still the leaders could not feel content. They received recruits from England, but their own children as they grew up showed a tendency to leave the Church and wander off to employments, such as service in the Dutch armies, of which their fathers could not approve. Also the feeling grew upon them

It now be mette & here finge the
these conditions; which are as
followeth.

Sh: 1620. July. 1

1 The adventurers, & planters doe agree, that every person that goeth being aged
16. years, & upward, be rated at 10^l. and ten pounds to be accounted a
single share.

2 That he that goeth in person, and furnissheth him selfe out with 10. either
in money, or other provisions, be accounted as having 20. in stock, and
in y^e division shall receive a double share.

3 The persons transported, & y^e adventurers shall continue their y^eant
stock, & partnership together, y^e space of 7. years (excepts some unexpected
impediments, doe cause y^e whole company to agree other wise) dur-
ing which time, all profits, & benefits, that are got by trade, traffick, truck-
ing, working, fishing, or any other means of any person, or persons; re-
maine still in y^e comone stock untill y^e division.

4 That at their coming ther, they chuse out such a number of fit persons,
as may furnissh their ships & boats for fishing upon y^e sea; employing
they rest in their severall faculties upon y^e land, as building houses, till-
ing, & planting y^e ground, & makinge such commodities as, shall be most
useful for y^e Colonis.

The agreement made between the Pilgrim Fathers (here called the planters) and the London merchants (the adventurers), who financed the
voyage. From William Bradford's 'History of Plymouth Plantation'. This manuscript was written at Plymouth by William Bradford,
remained there until the War of Independence, was probably stolen during that struggle, was lost sight of for eighty years, and was rediscovered
in 1854 in the Library of the Bishop of London at Fulham Palace. It has since been restored to America and is now at Boston.

that Holland was wellnigh as ungodly a country as England, and that a curse might fall upon those who dwelt in it.

The next step was therefore to discuss plans for emigrating once more to some land where they might work out their destiny undisturbed, and that meant crossing the Atlantic to America. Some of them proposed Guiana, where Dutchmen and Englishmen were already trying to plant settlements. But the majority voted against it, because they thought the Spaniards would force a quarrel upon them, and they earnestly desired to live at peace with all men. They decided therefore to go to North America, and sent some of their number to negotiate with Sir Edwin Sandys, the treasurer of the Virginia Company, and himself a man of Puritan sympathies. In this manner they secured permission to settle in the northern part of the Virginia Company's territory, where as yet there were no other colonists. Next they made an agreement with some London merchants for the loan of the money necessary to equip their expedition, a loan which they undertook to repay from the profits of their own labour after their colony should be founded.

By the summer of 1620 all was in readiness. Two ships, the *Mayflower* and the *Speedwell*, were chartered and waiting for them at Southampton. The younger and more active members of the Church at Leyden came over to the English port, and a number of sympathizers from England itself joined them there, including Miles Standish, a soldier to whom the adventure appealed. On 5th August they set sail westwards down the Channel. They had not, however, seen the last of England, for the *Speedwell* sprang a leak and they had to put in at Plymouth, where they found she was too unseaworthy to proceed. After a month's delay they sailed again on 6th September in the *Mayflower* alone. Some of the original voyagers were left behind, and the number who actually left Plymouth was 102, of whom William Bradford and William Brewster and a few others had been among the exiles from Scrooby in 1608. These passengers of the *Mayflower* are

known to history as the Pilgrim Fathers. Their sober and dignified manners have created the impression that they were elderly men, but in reality most of them were quite young ; only nine were over forty years of age, and only two over fifty. Bradford himself was thirty. More than one-third of the party were boys and girls under twenty-one.

The voyage which a modern liner can accomplish in a week took the *Mayflower* over two months. On 9th November



Merchantmen of the early seventeenth century. The *Mayflower* was probably of this type, although no actual picture of her is known to exist. From *Cosmographia Blaviana*.

they sighted land in the neighbourhood of Cape Cod, the curving promontory which projects from the shore of New England. John Smith had given this name to the region on his voyage of discovery in 1614, and he had likewise bestowed the name of Plymouth upon a harbour within the bay which Cape Cod forms. At Plymouth they decided, after spending a month in looking round, to make their settlement. It was far to the northward of all the lands of

the Virginia Company but they liked its aspect and were unwilling to face the risk of continuing the voyage at the stormy season of the year. Before they landed, the men of the party signed a covenant acknowledging their allegiance to the King of England and solemnly promising to give obedience to the laws which they should frame for the good of the community. This document is called the Mayflower Compact.

Hard work by all hands was now the order of every day except Sunday, which the Pilgrims always observed as a day of rest, however great their necessities might be. At the place they had chosen for their settlement a brook ran down to a shallow harbour, whilst a little way inland the ground rose to a steep hill. By a lucky chance they had landed in a region where three years before the Indians had all been swept off by some kind of plague, leaving many acres of open fields cleared of forest and ready for cultivation. The first work was to get their stores landed from the ship, and to cut timber for the building of their houses. This occupied several weeks, for they had no horses and were obliged to drag every log by hand from the forest to the village. The passage to and from the ship was also difficult, for there was so little depth of water that she had to lie far out, and even the boats could not come close to shore when heavily laden. So there was much wading waist deep in icy water and shivering in wet clothes in a bitter wind. In this work William Bradford, although not a strong man, bore his part in a way which roused the admiration of the others and showed the spirit which was in him. He had hitherto been an undistinguished member of the company, but his courage and unruffled temper now made his friends look to him as a natural leader. The seamen of the *Mayflower* gave little help. They did not sympathize with the religious views of the Pilgrims, and like most sailors they looked upon their passengers as some unusually troublesome kind of cargo.

At length the houses were completed, rude cabins built of

logs, with the chinks stopped with clay and the roofs thatched with bundles of reed. There was a large building for religious service and general assembly, and smaller ones for each of the score of households into which the party divided themselves. The huts lay along two little streets crossing one another at right angles, and on the hill the settlers traced out a fort and mounted two guns which they had brought with great labour from the ship.

The winter was a mild one for New England, but yet severe enough to take a heavy toll of lives. Before the buildings were finished the rain, cold, and shortage of food caused a terrible sickness to break out. Of all the men in the company only two escaped the infection altogether whilst the others were struck down one after the other. Some recovered, but many died, and before summer came half of those who had crossed the sea had perished. Only four of the fourteen married women survived, but the children came off better than their elders. This was doubtless because they were spared the harder work and given a more generous share of the food. Bradford lost his own wife by the oversetting of a boat in the harbour.

When the worst of the sickness was over the Pilgrims had need to think of the future. They saw that their most urgent task was to provide for a supply of corn. They could get meat by killing the wild creatures of the woods, and fish abounded in the sea, but bread must also be had if they were to live in health. Here the cleared fields left by the dead Indian tribe were found useful. But they had no plough and no horse to draw one if they could have made it. They had, therefore, to dig an immense number of little holes in the ground, and in each they put the bodies of two or three small fish caught in the brook for manure. Thus they sowed their first crop.

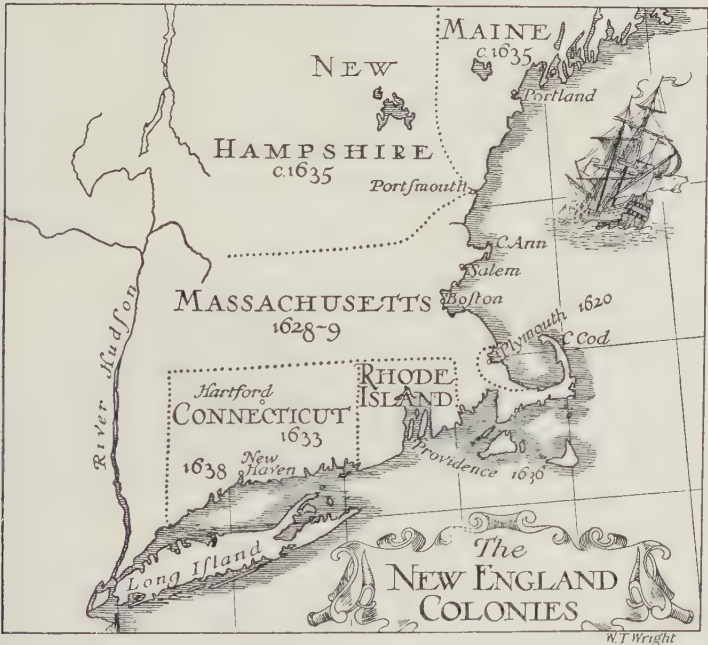
The work proved too hard for John Carver, their first Governor, who took his share with the rest. On one of the first warm days of 1621 he fell down with sunstroke whilst

digging in the field, and soon afterwards he died. The heads of households then met to elect his successor, and their choice fell upon William Bradford, whose character and courage had become known to all. The term of office was only for one year at a time, but the whole colony thought so highly of Bradford that they chose him to rule them year after year until his death long afterwards in 1657. Only on a few occasions was he passed over, and then at his own request. Very rarely in history do we find a man like this, able to rule firmly and justly for nearly forty years without once losing the respect and love of his people. His secret lay in his unselfish devotion to the common good and in the calm dignity of his temper. A story is told which shows his quiet manner of making himself obeyed. Some new settlers had reached the colony before the close of 1621. The Pilgrim Fathers, like most of the Puritans, did not observe Christmas as a holiday because they found no command in the Bible to do so. But when the men went out to work in the fields on Christmas morning the new-comers refused to go too, saying that it was against their conscience to work on that day. Bradford answered nothing, but when he came back to dinner he found them not at their prayers but playing cricket in the street. 'Conscience' was evidently an excuse for idleness, so he pocketed the ball, and told them that they might pray in their houses on Christmas Day if they liked, but that his own conscience would not allow them to play cricket while others worked for them. After this there was no more shirking.

Gradually Plymouth Colony became a success. By hard work the Pilgrims paid off their debt to the London merchants who had lent them money for the voyage. New settlers, both from Leyden and England, came out to join the pioneers, and the settlements spread along the coast so that by 1640 there were half a dozen townships and 3,000 inhabitants. Farming, fishing, and fur trading with the Indian tribes were the means of livelihood, and although

they yielded no large fortunes they provided a certain rough comfort for all.

Meanwhile the success of the Pilgrims had tempted others to follow their example. Charles I and his bishops hated the Puritans, and drove many more of them to break off their connexion with the Church of England. A powerful



body of these later separatists obtained a charter in 1629, permitting them to found a colony on Massachusetts Bay, to the north of Plymouth. Under the leadership of John Winthrop they accomplished their purpose, choosing Boston as the head place of their settlements. Massachusetts attracted more emigrants than did Plymouth, and by 1640 it had 16,000 people.

Still later more Puritan pioneers founded Rhode Island,

Connecticut, and New Haven, and before William Bradford died New England consisted of five prosperous and well-governed communities, able to defend themselves, producing ample supplies of food, and building merchant ships which traded all over the Atlantic Ocean. All this progress rested upon the hardships and self-sacrifice of the Pilgrims of 1620, who cut the path which the others followed.

Plymouth remained a separate colony until 1691, when it was united to its younger neighbour Massachusetts. But the tradition of the Pilgrims was never lost, and to this day Americans speak of the coast upon which the *Mayflower's* passengers landed as 'The Old Colony'.



Coin of Massachusetts, 1652

V

SIR THOMAS WARNER

the Founder of the British West Indies

THE American colonies, the scene of the first British expansion across the Atlantic, are now part of the United States. Those which Sir Thomas Warner founded in the West Indies should be even more interesting to us, for they remain under the British flag to this day.

The settlement of Englishmen in the West Indies sprang out of a previous attempt at settlement on the coast of South America, in Guiana and the mouth of the great river Amazon. In 1619 a certain Captain Roger North, who had been one of Raleigh's officers, formed a company to begin the planting of tobacco on the banks of the Amazon. At first King James approved of the scheme, and the Amazon Company received his royal charter. But soon the Spanish ambassador objected, claiming that all South America belonged to his sovereign, and when North was ready to sail in the spring of 1620 the King refused his permission. North, however, risked the royal displeasure by sailing without leave, and with him went a gentleman of Suffolk named Thomas Warner. They reached the Amazon in safety and began a plantation, building a fort and arming it with some guns from their ships. After some months North went home with cargoes of tobacco, leaving Warner and many others in the colony. When North reached England he was immediately sent to the Tower, for James I was furious at being disobeyed. The King dissolved the Amazon Company, took away its charter, and released North only on his promising not to go again to South America.

All this made the position of the colonists very unpleasant

for their communication with England was cut off. In addition, the Portuguese of Brazil, stirred up by the Spaniards, attacked their plantation and did a great deal of damage. These things made Thomas Warner determine to go elsewhere. With a few others he left the Amazon in 1623 and made a voyage through the West Indies, looking for an island where he might plant tobacco in peace. At that time there were no European colonies in what are called the Lesser Antilles, although the Spaniards occupied the Greater Antilles (Cuba, Jamaica, and their neighbours). The reason why the Spaniards had never settled in the small islands was that there was no gold or silver in them, and that they were inhabited by a very ferocious race of Indians called the Caribs. These people were the man-eating savages described in *Robinson Crusoe*, and a very good idea of conditions in early days in the islands can be obtained from reading that book.¹

Thomas Warner, in the course of his exploration, came to the island of St. Christopher (a name shortened in after days to St. Kitts). It had a pleasant climate and a fertile soil, and was far away from the usual haunts of the Spaniards. There was a tribe of Caribs living in it, but Warner made friends with their chief and decided that this was the best spot for his plantation. Having done so much he sailed for England to raise money and men for the adventure.

On reaching London, Warner made a bargain with some merchants, who were to find the money with which to settle

¹ Many people have said that Daniel Defoe copied his *Robinson Crusoe* from the adventures of Alexander Selkirk, but this is not entirely true. Selkirk lived on the island of Juan Fernandez in the Pacific. It contained no Indians, and was hundreds of miles from any other land. Crusoe, as any one who reads his story may see, was driven out of his course while on a voyage from Brazil to Africa, and was wrecked on an island in the West Indies. His island was in sight of other land, and was frequently visited by the cannibals, who form the most interesting feature in the tale. Beyond the fact that Crusoe and Selkirk each lived alone on an island, there is little in common between them.

a colony in return for a share in the profits which would arise. It was exactly in this way that the Pilgrim Fathers had raised the funds for their voyage to New England. As soon as he had made this arrangement he sailed again for the West Indies, and landed on St. Kitts with less than twenty companions on 28th January, 1624.

They began at once to plant tobacco, for which there was a growing demand in Europe, giving a hope of rich profits to the fortunate planter. But every new colony had its difficulties to contend with, and those of St. Kitts soon showed themselves. In September 1624 a hurricane swept the island, a terrific storm such as we seldom see in England. It blew away not only the tobacco plants in the fields, but also the huts and belongings of the settlers, and reduced them to a condition of great misery. There was nothing for it but to begin their pioneering work all over again. The Caribs also became dangerous. They had been friendly at first, giving good supplies of food for the beads and mirrors with which the Englishmen came supplied. But soon the novelty of these things wore off, and the savages began plotting to rid themselves of their white neighbours. Warner heard that they were drinking and war-dancing to screw up their courage for an onset. He did not wait to be attacked



A Carib of the West Indies. These savages were to be found in all the islands of the Lesser Antilles, except Barbados, when the English first colonized them. Only a few hundreds of the Carib race now survive. From Labat's *Nouveau Voyage aux Isles de l'Amérique*.

but fell upon them before they were ready to smite him. He and his Englishmen killed many of the tribe, and the remainder took to their canoes and escaped to another island. But they were a warlike race who never forgot an injury, and he knew that ere long they would come back with their friends to take revenge for their wrongs.

A cloud thus hung over the little colony, and it was certain one day to burst. Warner had only a handful of Englishmen with him, and whilst waiting for more he was glad to welcome any other white men who would come to strengthen the settlement. This led to the sharing of St. Kitts between the English and the French. In 1625 a French ship anchored off the island. She was a privateer which had been damaged in action with a Spaniard. Warner persuaded her captain to turn planter, and the French crew came ashore and made a settlement of their own at the southern end of the island. Soon afterwards a great force of Caribs landed suddenly one morning. They killed some of the Frenchmen and beset their fort. An English boy happened to be there, and he volunteered to go for assistance. Armed with a couple of pistols he set forth, burst his way through the besiegers, and reached Warner's plantation. The English at once turned out, and after a terrific fight the Caribs fled to their canoes and made off. For many years after this they made raids on St. Kitts, but they were never able to drive the white men from the island.

Meanwhile the English had made another beginning in the West Indies. Early in 1625 a ship commanded by Captain John Powell touched at Barbados, then an almost unknown island. Its great advantage was that it contained no Caribs and was never visited by them. The map will show the reason for this: Barbados lies about eighty miles to the eastward of the main island chain, and the north-east trade wind, blowing steadily throughout the year, made it impossible for the savages to paddle their canoes so far. Powell therefore found Barbados uninhabited; he saw at once that

it would be useful for tobacco planting, and he set up a cross with an inscription claiming the island for the King of England. Then he sailed homewards to report his discovery.

Powell's employer was a merchant named Sir William Courteen. He was a very wealthy man, and he was ready to invest his money in forming a tobacco colony. In 1627 he sent out John Powell and his brother Henry Powell with a body of settlers, who soon made a thriving plantation. But more than this was necessary, for Barbados had been found by the King's subjects, and it was the King's to dispose of. Courteen, therefore applied to a friend at court, the Earl of Pembroke, and the Earl obtained from Charles I a charter making him Lord Proprietor of Barbados, on the understanding that Courteen and the Powells were to be the real owners of the island. At the same time Warner had also come home to seek a noble patron, and he chose the Earl of Carlisle. Charles I, always generous to his favourites, bestowed upon Carlisle a charter making him Lord Proprietor of all the small West Indian islands, including Barbados. The King had thus granted Barbados to two different claimants at once, and he had made the two grants within six weeks of each other. The result was unhappy. There was a good deal of fighting between the two parties at Barbados, and finally a lawsuit in which Carlisle very unjustly gained the day. Sir William Courteen, who had spent many thousands of pounds in the enterprise, lost every penny and died in debt; and Barbados became the property of the Carlisle party.

Warner continued to prosper. The King knighted him at Hampton Court in 1629, and the Earl of Carlisle made him Governor of St. Kitts and Lieutenant-General of all the other islands, with grants of large estates. Soon the English planters began to spread from St. Kitts into the neighbouring islands of the Leeward group. They colonized Nevis in 1628, and Antigua¹ and Montserrat in 1632. All these places became thriving tobacco plantations, and their value to the

¹ Pronounced Anttega (hard g).

country was that they employed many English ships and mariners at a time when sea power was becoming more important than it had ever been before. The French also made progress, occupying Martinique and Guadeloupe, which they hold to this day.

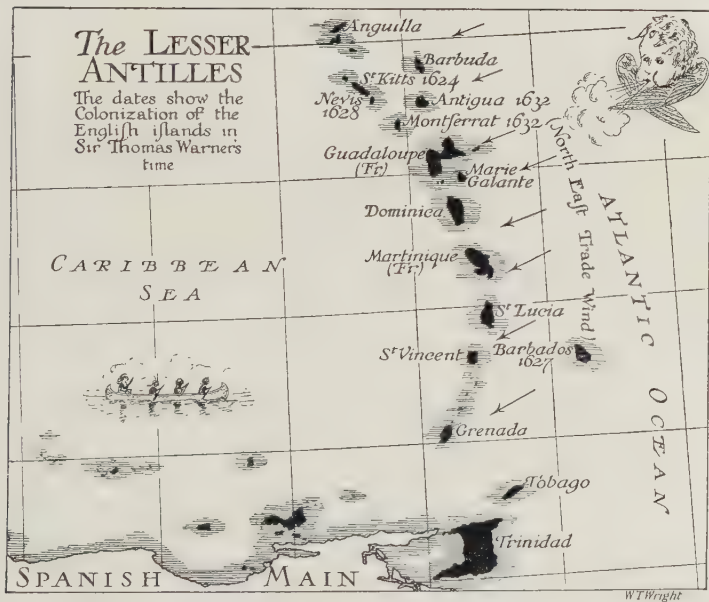
The English plantation colonies were all peopled in much the same manner. That is to say, there were two kinds of emigrants, those with money and those with nothing but their labour to contribute to the cause. The moneyed men obtained grants of land from the Company or the Lord Proprietor owning the colony, and for these grants they usually paid a yearly rent. Having secured his land the planter had to find labour to cultivate it, and he did so by enlisting workmen in England. The workman agreed to serve his employer for a term of years (usually five) without pay, in return for having his passage paid to the colony and for being supplied with food and clothing during his period of service. People going out to the colonies under this arrangement were called indentured servants. The indentured servant was practically a slave until his time was out, but then he had his chance of rising in life. He might secure a grant of land and set up as a planter himself, or he might work as a paid craftsman or an overseer for some absentee estate owner. In the early days, while there was still vacant land to be taken up in the colonies, many men were found willing to emigrate as indentured servants. Afterwards the conditions were less attractive, and the supply was kept up by transporting criminals, paupers, and prisoners taken in the civil wars. It will be remembered that Judge Jeffreys, besides hanging hundreds of prisoners in the Bloody Assize, sent a great many more to the plantations for their share in Monmouth's rebellion. But by that time white labourers were less commonly employed in the plantation colonies, and their places were being taken by negro slaves captured in Africa.

With the exception of the Puritan settlements in New England, all the English colonies founded under James I

and Charles I made their living in the same way, that is, by the planting of tobacco. These colonies were Virginia and Maryland on the mainland of North America, and the islands of the Bermudas, St. Kitts and its neighbours, and Barbados. The result was that after a time too much tobacco was produced, the price fell, and it was difficult for the planters to make a living by it. This led the West Indian colonists to look for another industry in which they could do better, and about 1640 Barbados led the way with experiments in sugar planting. Sugar was a more difficult crop to deal with than tobacco, for it needed crushing machines to squeeze the juice from the canes, and large copper boilers in which to refine it. The crushing rollers (something after the plan of the domestic mangle) were worked by horses turning capstans, or by windmills driven by the ever-useful trade wind, and large gangs of negroes were imported to handle the canes, for the sugar spoiled unless it was dealt with as soon as it was cut. All this needed much money and attracted wealthy men to the West Indies, where they made huge profits and became wealthier still. The change spread quickly from Barbados to the other islands, and by the eighteenth century the West Indies were reckoned the richest and most valuable part of the Empire. It should not be forgotten, however, that this prosperity was largely founded upon negro slavery, although at the time few people saw anything wrong in that.

Sir Thomas Warner governed St. Kitts for over twenty years after the Earl of Carlisle had become Proprietor of the islands. The first Earl died in 1636, and his son, the second Earl, fought for Charles I in the Civil War. He was unlucky enough to be captured by the Roundheads, and all his property was confiscated. This left the islands for a time without any real master in England, and Warner and his fellow Governors ruled like petty kings over the planters. Warner was a strict ruler, inflicting punishments which are now considered savage and brutal. The lot of the transgressor was flogging,

branding, pillorying, or, in serious cases, death. But the Governor had rough characters to deal with, and he could at least plead that he kept order and worked for the common good. He prevented any fighting between the Royalist and Parliamentary factions at St. Kitts, while at Barbados, under a weaker ruler, there was a serious outbreak. Warner



died at St. Kitts in March 1649, a few weeks after the execution of Charles I. His tombstone is still preserved in the island, bearing an inscription describing him as

... one that bought
 With loss of noble blood the illustrious name
 Of a commander great in acts of fame,
 Trained from his youth in arms, his courage bold
 Attempted brave exploits, and uncontrolled
 By fortune's fiercest frowns, he still gave forth
 Large narratives of military worth,
 Written with his sword's point. . . .

The success of sugar planting awakened England to the value of West Indian possessions, and Oliver Cromwell, when he became Protector after driving out the Long Parliament, began to form a scheme for obtaining more of them by conquest. Spain at that time held the four greatest West Indian islands—Cuba, Hispaniola, Porto Rico, and Jamaica—the least of them being many times as large as Barbados or St. Kitts. The Spaniards were poor planters and did very little with their great possessions, the only use they could find for them being to make them breeding-grounds for herds of cattle, which they killed for their hides. Cromwell picked a quarrel with Spain over some ancient grievances—raids on English colonies, the cruelties of the Inquisition, and the like—and dispatched an expedition in 1654 to conquer Hispaniola. The armament reached the West Indies in safety, but failed rather disgracefully in an attack upon San Domingo, the chief city of the island. The commanders then looked for an easier prey and found it in Jamaica, which they captured without much difficulty in 1655.

Jamaica proved to be much more difficult to hold than it had been to take, for the early settlers found it terribly unhealthy. The first colonists were the soldiers of the conquering expedition. The deadly climate swept them off like flies, and it became necessary to send out more. Most of these also perished, of malaria and yellow fever, and the new colony was made a success only by transferring to it seasoned men from Barbados and the Leeward Islands. With greater experience these colonists found more healthy grounds than had been occupied at first, and gradually Jamaica became a successful plantation. Its planters grew sugar on a large scale and imported a great number of negroes as slaves. Jamaica marked a new departure in two ways. It was the first colony conquered by the English from another European power, and it was also the first to be developed and managed by the Home Government from the outset, without the employment of a chartered company or a Lord Proprietor. All the



SIR THOMAS WARNER'S TOMB AT ST. KITTS

By kind permission of Mr. A. M. Losada

other colonies which we have mentioned were begun by one or other of these methods, although all were eventually taken over by the Government at a later stage.

Jamaica was also notable in another respect. In its early days it was the chief base of the operations of the buccaneers. These people were in reality little different from pirates. Although they professed to be carrying on an irregular warfare with Spain, in practice they often attacked the ships of friendly nations, including their own. They used the Jamaica ports to refit their vessels and sell their plunder. Perhaps the most notable buccaneer was Henry Morgan. When a boy he was kidnapped in the streets of Bristol and sent out to the West Indies as an indentured servant. But he ran away from his master, joined the pirates, and rose to be their leader. In 1672 he led a great force which captured and sacked the Spanish city of Panama, gaining great booty and committing cruel atrocities. Afterwards he made his peace with his own sovereign, and was knighted and appointed Governor of Jamaica.

Soon after the restoration of Charles II (in 1660) the proprietary charter of the Earl of Carlisle was cancelled, and all his islands were taken under the control of the Crown. So they have remained ever since, although some of them have been temporarily captured by our enemies during the various colonial wars which have swept over the West Indies. Barbados, however, can claim that it has never for an hour been under any flag but the British since the first colonists set foot upon its shore three hundred years ago.

VI

JAMES, DUKE OF YORK

Patron of Sea Power and Colonization

JAMES II is known to most boys as the King who ran away from England when challenged by his son-in-law William of Orange, and who ran away from Ireland two years later in the midst of the Battle of the Boyne. Those were the dishonours of his later years, when his nerve was broken and his wits were dulled ; but it is pleasing to find that in his younger days as James, Duke of York, he was a gallant fighting man by land and sea, a good admiral in a fleet action and a wise organizer of the Navy in time of peace, and above all a statesmanlike patron of commerce, and a planter and ruler of colonies. It is with this man, the Duke of York of the Restoration, that we have now to deal, and not with the broken tyrant of thirty years later.

James Stuart, the second son of Charles I, was born in 1633. Although too young to take an active part in the Civil War he was kept a prisoner by the Parliament on the collapse of his father's cause, but made his escape to the Continent in 1648 in the disguise of a woman. His brother Charles, regarded by the Royalists as the rightful King, was with him, and in 1651 they took refuge in France. That country was also the scene of a civil war, and James fought on the side of Cardinal Mazarin and the young Louis XIV, his courage earning him the praise of the great Marshal Turenne. Some years later Mazarin made an alliance with Oliver Cromwell, Protector of England, and the Stuart princes were obliged to leave France. They passed over into the Spanish Netherlands (now Belgium), and offered

their services to Spain in the war which she was waging with France. With them were numbers of exiled Royalists, English, Irish, and Scotch, whom they formed into regiments which are the ancestors of some of the oldest units of the British Army to-day.

Cromwell had no wish to see England invaded by these Royalists, and he found means of fighting them on foreign soil by sending his own troops to help the French in their invasion of the Spanish Netherlands. So we have the last stage of the English Civil War fought out in that Flemish country which has again in our own day seen English and French struggling side by side in a much vaster contest. In 1657 Cromwell's men and the French captured Mardyke, a seaport near Dunkirk, and the English settled down to hold it as their winter quarters. The Spaniards and the Royalists tried to recover it by a night attack. Charles and James Stuart were both present, but in spite of their efforts the attack failed. Next year the Cromwellian English and the French took the offensive and laid siege to Dunkirk, the strongest place on the Flemish coast. Spaniards and Royalists marched to the rescue, and outside the walls of Dunkirk the two armies fought the great Battle of the Dunes. Charles Stuart was not there, for the Spaniards detained him in Brussels, but James personally led his Royalist regiments into action. Against them came Cromwell's disciplined troops led by Sir William Lockhart. The fortune of Marston Moor and Naseby repeated itself, and after a fierce struggle the Royalists broke in headlong flight. At the same time the French routed the Spaniards, and James, after narrowly escaping death, had to follow his beaten men. He had done all that a gallant officer could to stem the rout, as even his foes admitted. Two months later Cromwell died (3rd September, 1658), and events in England moved steadily to the restoration of Charles II in 1660.

With the Restoration began the happiest stage of James Stuart's career. He was the first subject of the Crown, and



JAMES, DUKE OF YORK

*From the portrait by Sir Peter Lely at St. James's Palace ; reproduced by the
gracious permission of His Majesty the King*

his brother Charles showed none of the jealousy so often seen in such circumstances. The affable and popular Charles had, in fact, no need to be jealous of the cold and ungenial James ; he said one day, when discussing the question of conspiracies, ' There is no fear, James, that they will kill me to make you king.' Accordingly, the Duke of York was encouraged to put himself at the head of various enterprises in which the national well-being was concerned.

At that time there was a firm belief that by making suitable regulations for trade between England and the colonies the national wealth and power could be increased. Parliament, therefore, passed in 1660 and the following years a series of laws called the Navigation Acts. One of their effects was to forbid foreigners to trade with English colonies. A colony was then looked upon as the possession of the mother country, which was entitled to all the trade in the colonists' produce—just as a man who had planted an orchard would be entitled to all its fruits. The colonists often did not take this view. They found themselves injured by the Navigation Acts and did their best to evade the regulation of their trade. On the American coast there was a good opportunity for this evasion. The English colonies fell into two groups, the Puritan New England States of the north, and the plantations of Virginia and Maryland in the south. Between them lay the Dutch colony of New Amsterdam at the mouth of the Hudson River, with other Dutch posts along the coast on either side of it. The Dutchmen of New Amsterdam traded with their English neighbours in defiance of the Navigation Acts, and there seemed to be no easy means of stopping them.

There were other serious causes of dispute with the Dutch, and a war appeared certain to break out ere long. In 1664, therefore, Charles II took a drastic step to put an end to the New Amsterdam annoyance. He commissioned his brother to conquer the colony and granted him a charter to rule it as Lord Proprietor. The Duke of York acted promptly upon



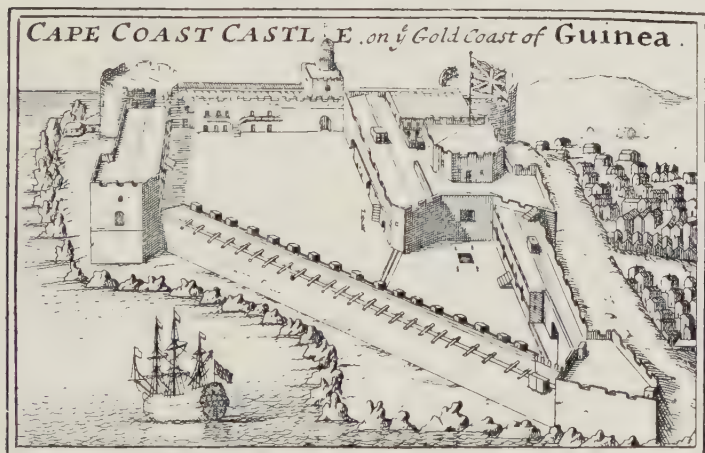
his grant. He fitted out an expedition under Colonel Richard Nicolls—four ships and 450 soldiers—and sent it to try its fortune across the Atlantic. Nicolls was completely successful. In August 1664 he captured New Amsterdam without firing a shot and renamed it New York in honour of his master. In the next few weeks the English force also took the remaining Dutch posts down to the Delaware River on the borders of Maryland.

The American coast-line was now English without a break, and the Duke of York was the Proprietor of a large territory. He divided his gains into two parts. One, New York, he kept for himself, and the other, now called New Jersey, he granted as a proprietary colony to Sir George Carteret and Lord Berkeley. The great value of New York lay in this, that the Hudson was a fine waterway, navigable far into the interior. In a wooded and roadless country this was an enormous advantage for future expansion. The French in Canada were quick to realize what the conquest might mean to themselves. ‘The King of England’, said a French officer, ‘doth grasp at all America.’ His words were prophetic.

Nicolls remained at New York as its Governor. His master in the meanwhile had other affairs to occupy him. The American colonists, and still more the planters of the West Indian islands, depended upon slave labour for the cultivation of their crops of sugar and tobacco. When Charles II came to the throne the Dutch had the slave trade almost entirely in their hands. By successful warfare with the Portuguese they had taken nearly all the forts on the west coast of Africa from which the negro slaves could be shipped across the Atlantic. Besides the monopoly of the slave trade the Dutch were also obtaining supplies of gold from the same region, which is called the Gold Coast to this day. To the English statesmen of the time, it seemed intolerable that the labour-supply of their colonies should depend upon the goodwill of a foreign power. Charles II, therefore, founded an English Company in 1662 to contest the monopoly of the

Dutch. He called it the Royal Adventurers to Africa, and he appointed his brother, the Duke of York, its first Governor.

The Company seized some of the forts claimed by the Dutch, and opened others of its own. These African trading forts were walled enclosures with battlements and loopholes, designed to resist attack from land or sea. The African coast has few natural harbours, and the forts commonly stood upon the open shore with the Atlantic waves thundering



An African slaving post. From Moll's Atlas.

upon the beach. The trading ships had to anchor far out, and transfer their cargoes to the land by means of surf-boats. To the forts there came down from the interior long strings of slaves, chained to one another, captured for the most part by native slave-dealers, or bought from the negro chiefs whom the white men encouraged to sell their own subjects. It was a vile and degrading traffic; and whilst we regret that our own country once took a leading share in it, we may remember that she has since made amends by taking the foremost part in stamping it out.

The Royal Adventurers were at first very successful, and

some of the gold which they sent home in their early years was coined into guineas, so called from the Guinea Coast which produced the precious metal. At a later date the Royal Adventurers fell into difficulties and were succeeded by another body called the Royal African Company, of which the Duke of York was also the first Governor. This Company lasted until the middle of the eighteenth century.

The Duke himself did not go to Africa or to his colony in America, but he bore a personal share in the wars in home waters which resulted from those enterprises. The Dutch were naturally enraged at the invasion of their possessions on either side of the Atlantic, and in 1665 they engaged in a contest with England for the supremacy of the seas. They had a fine navy, and they drew immense wealth from their colonial trade, which also gave them the services of thousands of skilful mariners. On the English side Charles II had inherited a powerful fleet from the Commonwealth and Oliver Cromwell. One of his first acts on coming to the throne was to appoint the Duke Lord High Admiral, and it was in that capacity that he sailed to meet the Dutch in 1665. The two great fleets met on 3rd June off Lowestoft and engaged in a terrific combat. The English flagship was crowded with the courtiers who, although they gave scandal by their dissolute lives at Whitehall, were full of courage and forwardness in action. An account of the day describes an incident of the fighting. 'The Earl of Falmouth, Muskerry, and Mr. Richard Boyle were killed on board the Duke's ship, the *Royal Charles*, with one shot, their blood and brains flying in the Duke's face; and the head of Mr. Boyle striking down the Duke, as some say.' But James, who, as an observer tells us, was more himself and of better judgement in a desperate action than at other times, held on doggedly and won a complete victory.

In the latter part of the war he was withdrawn from the fleet and put in command of the land forces. He therefore bears no share of the blame for the disgrace inflicted upon England

when the Dutch sailed up the Medway and burned Chatham. That was due to the King's listening to other advice and laying up the fleet before peace was fully concluded.

After the war the Duke busied himself in the reorganization of the navy, in the management of New York and of the African Company, and in the affairs of State which fell to him as the King's brother and heir. This was a time of great trading activity, and besides his other interests the Duke was a shareholder in the East India Company. His cousin, Prince Rupert, the old cavalier leader of the Civil War, was doing similar services. He also was a fighting admiral and the Governor of a great trading body, the Hudson's Bay Company, which owed its early success to his care.

A second Dutch war broke out in 1672, and once again the Duke of York went to sea at the head of the English fleet. Off Southwold Bay the Dutch appeared in great force whilst the English were in some confusion. A stubborn battle followed, ending with little advantage to either side. As before, the Duke did his full part in the fighting. One of those killed by his side was Colonel Nicolls, the captor of New York, who had since returned to England. About this time the Duke declared himself a Roman Catholic, which had an unfortunate influence upon his career. There was a strong movement against the Catholics, arising out of a suspicion that they were plotting to gain control of the English Govern-



The *Royal Prince*, an English warship captured by the Dutch in 1666. From Vandervelde's picture at the Hague.

ment. In 1673 their opponents passed the Test Act forbidding any Catholic to hold any public office. This compelled the Duke to quit the command of the fleet and resign his post as Lord High Admiral. For some years he was under a cloud, and at one time was obliged to leave the country. The extreme Protestants even attempted to shut him out from the succession to the throne by means of the Exclusion Bill. Charles II, however, stood by his brother and defeated the Exclusion Bill by dissolving Parliament before it could pass into law.

Although a Catholic, the Duke was the firm friend of a remarkable man whose religious opinions were as opposite to Catholicism as they could well be. This was William Penn, the Quaker, and the connexion between them resulted in the establishment of yet another English colony. William Penn was the son of Admiral Penn, who had helped to conquer Jamaica for Cromwell, and who had afterwards taken a leading part in the Restoration of Charles II. The Quakers, like the Catholics, suffered a severe persecution at the hands of the dominant Church of England party, and Penn conceived the idea of founding a colony of refuge for them on the other side of the Atlantic. In 1681, by favour of the Duke and Charles II, he received a charter making him Proprietor of Pennsylvania, a region lying to the west of the Duke's territory of New York. Penn went out in person to plant his colony, which rapidly became a prosperous settlement. Afterwards the Duke transferred to him some lands of his own at the mouth of the Delaware River. Twenty years later these were broken off from Pennsylvania and became the separate colony of Delaware.

After the defeat of the Exclusion Bill there was a change in public feeling in England. Men began to think that the Duke had been hardly treated, and they admired him for being honest enough to avow his beliefs when so many others were concealing theirs. In 1684, in spite of the Test Act, he was allowed to return to the command of his beloved navy,



QUAKER TRADITIONS IN AMERICA. A Quaker meeting, early in the 19th century, under the tree in Flushing, Long Island, under which George Fox (b. 1624, d. 1691) once preached.

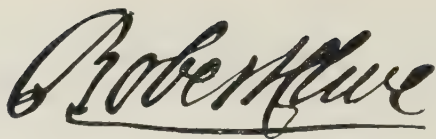
which had declined in strength whilst in other hands. Next year, when Charles II died, he succeeded to the throne as James II, amid an outburst of loyalty. The unhappy events of his short reign do not concern us here. As if misled by some evil genius he seemed to choose the wrong course on every occasion, and the popularity of 1685 had given place to universal hatred when William of Orange drove him from the throne in 1688.

Amidst all these troubles he still took a lively interest in the colonies, which had been his care as Duke of York. The chief faults of the colonies at this time were lack of goodwill towards the mother country and one another, and slackness in obeying the Navigation Acts. They behaved too much as little separate states without regard to the interests of the Empire at large, and this led to serious weakness in time of war. James II sought a remedy in abolishing the local colonial Governments and combining all the American colonies in one great dominion. But the plan was only partially complete when James lost the English throne, and his successors let it drop. Had it been followed out it might have been the saving of much that went wrong afterwards in America, for modern experience has shown us the great benefit of uniting a number of small colonies into great dominions.

James II spent his last years in exile, dying in France in 1701. As a king he failed, but his achievements whilst Duke of York entitle him to take rank among our notable empire-builders. Perhaps he would have enjoyed more credit for them if his nature had been warmer and more genial. But he was cold and self-contained, and disdained to advertise himself. As a contemporary remarked, he was 'a man that never in his life talked one word of himself or of his own services'.

PART II

The Eighteenth Century



I. ROBERT, LORD CLIVE

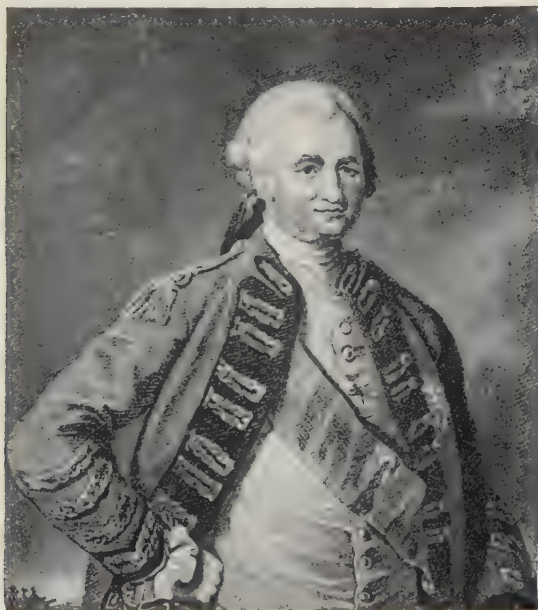
and the Rise of British Power in India

THE commanders and founders of colonies whose doings we have already described had carried on the work of British expansion on the islands and coasts of the Atlantic Ocean, where the earliest foundations of the Empire were laid. But whilst they were so doing, other English pioneers were penetrating the more distant Indian Ocean and planting the seeds of a great achievement upon its shores.

The East India Company was founded by a body of London merchants who obtained a charter from Queen Elizabeth on the last day of the year 1600. They desired to trade in the valuable spices which grew on the islands of the great archipelago off the south-eastern corner of Asia, and at first they had no intention of going to India itself. In the islands the Portuguese, with whom England was at war, were already in possession, and the Dutch were beginning to make voyages thither to wrench this rich trade from their grasp. The English Company had, therefore, two rivals. It defeated the Portuguese without difficulty, but it was not so successful with the Dutch. And after twenty years of competition the Dutch proved the stronger, and fairly drove the English merchants from the Spice Islands.

This would have been the end of the East India Company if it had not had a second string to its bow. But whilst fighting the Dutch it had been wise enough to send some of its ships to establish a trade in India, and it was on the Indian trade that it had now to rely. In India for a long time

the Company made no attempts at conquest. Its business was to trade and make profits for its shareholders, and if it could do so without fighting it was all the better pleased. Its early wars were therefore against the Portuguese, who made no great resistance, and its factors lived on good terms with the native princes.

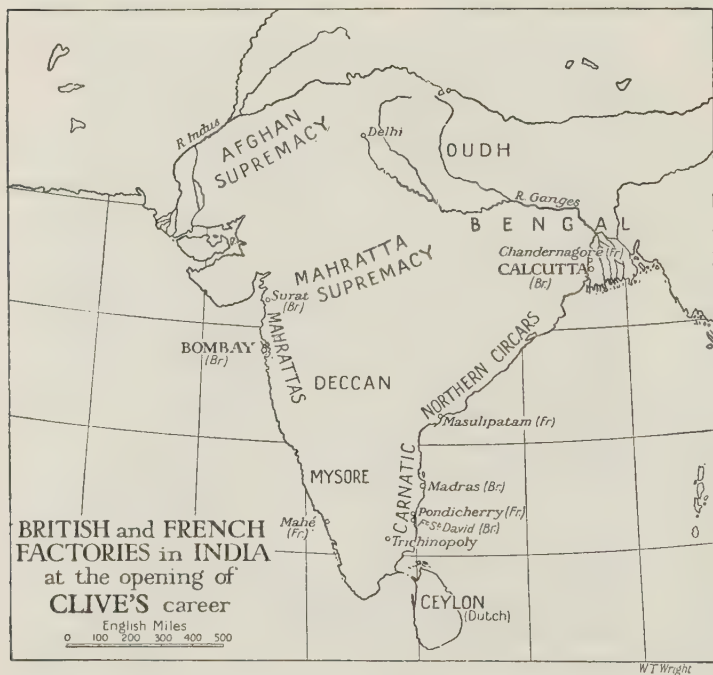


ROBERT, LORD CLIVE. From Sir John Malcolm's
Life of Clive.

The Company carried on its trade at warehouses or factories¹ in different parts of India. Its first was at Surat, near the western coast, where its agents appeared as early as 1607. Later on, when Charles II married Katherine of Braganza, Portugal handed over its strong possession of

¹ The word factory originally meant a place for selling goods, not for making them.

Bombay on the same coast, and Charles gave Bombay to the Company in 1668. Meanwhile, the English merchants had business on the other side of India, and in 1639 they obtained from a native prince the strip of land round Madras together with the town itself. There they built the strong-

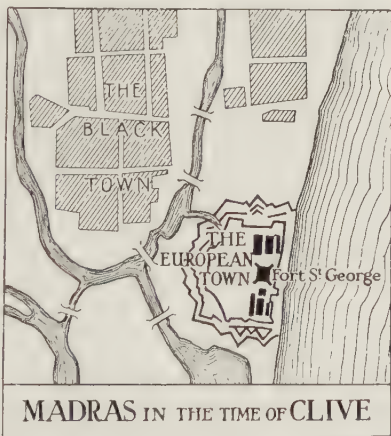


hold of Fort St. George. Finally they penetrated the rich province of Bengal, where in 1692 they fortified themselves at Fort William, and around this possession there grew up the great city of Calcutta. Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta were first-class, strongly armed places, and each had depending on it a number of branch factories spread about the countryside. In 1664 France imitated England's example in forming an East India Company. The French likewise

established themselves in various places, but their chief stronghold was at Pondicherry, on the same coast as Madras.

The East India Company kept a staff of merchants and clerks at each of its factories. Those of the junior rank were called writers, and it was as a writer that there arrived in India in 1744 Robert Clive, one of the greatest Englishmen who ever went to that country.

Clive was born in 1725 near Market Drayton in Shropshire. As a boy he was of a bold and pugnacious disposition and of weak bodily health, and both of these characteristics remained with him through life. Many stories are told of his early exploits in his native place, of which there is space to repeat only one here. It is said that he and his companions had constructed a dam to divert a stream of water into the shop of a tradesman who had offended them. The dam collapsed, and rather



MADRAS IN THE TIME OF CLIVE

W.T. Wright

than let the head of water be lost, Clive lay down, fully dressed, and made a dam of his own body to accomplish his purpose. This little incident illustrates his soldierly capacity for seeing what needed to be done and promptly doing it, in spite of any discomfort to himself. If he had been born to be a politician he would probably have suggested that some one else should lie down in the stream.

After a boyhood of escapades and illnesses, Clive was appointed to the service of the East India Company and sent out to Madras. At first he found the life very dull, and he fell into low spirits. Madras was in those days an unhealthy

place for Europeans. It consisted of Fort St. George, a fortified enclosure where the Company's servants lived, and the Black Town outside, inhabited by the native population. It stood on a flat, open coast without any natural harbour. The Company's ships had to anchor away from the land and lade their cargoes by means of boats. Altogether it was a depressing scene for a youth who was not good at making friends. The senior merchants, he wrote in a letter home, took no notice of him; and he seems to have quarrelled a good deal with the juniors of his own age.

Ere long, however, stirring events began to happen. War broke out between England and France, and at Pondicherry, down the coast, there was a Frenchman who was bent on turning the English out of India. This was Joseph François Dupleix, Governor-General of the French possessions. He waited until a French fleet reached him in 1746, and then sent it to attack Madras. The Englishmen there were traders who had not yet learned to fight, and the place surrendered after a feeble defence lasting only a week. Clive and one or two others made their escape after the surrender. They went through the country in disguise and reached Fort St. David, a smaller English station on the coast south of Pondicherry. Very soon Dupleix moved against them there, but the English of Fort St. David were made of sterner stuff than those of Madras. The little garrison resisted all attacks, and held out until a strong British fleet arrived to relieve them.

It was now the turn of Dupleix to be attacked. The British forces besieged Pondicherry in 1748, but they were not able to take it. Before the attempt could be repeated the news came that the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle had been signed in Europe, putting an end to the war. During the last two years Clive had served as an officer of the Company's forces. He had given many proofs of courage and promptitude, but had not yet risen to any important share in the command. After the peace he returned to the civilian side of the Company's service.



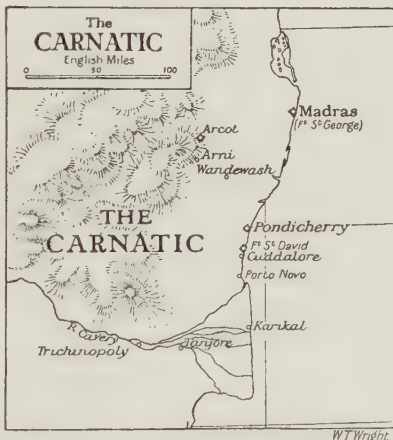
MADRAS later in the 18th century. This plan shows the shipping anchored in the open roadstead, but the fortifications now include the Black Town.

The peace, however, lasted only a very short while. By one of its terms France agreed to restore Madras to the British, and Dupleix was obliged to do this, much against his will. His view was that a great conquest was being stupidly thrown away, and he began to look round for an excuse for renewing the war, in which he was certain he could drive the English out of India. The excuse soon presented itself. Both Madras and Pondicherry stood on the coast of the native province called the Carnatic. In 1749 there was a dispute about the succession to the throne, two native princes each claiming to be the rightful ruler or Nawab. It occurred to Dupleix that if he took up the cause of one of these claimants, and used French forces to set him on the throne, the prince would be obliged in return to give large privileges to the French. This might be the starting-point, not only of the conquest of the British factories, but also of a French Empire in India. For if Dupleix could thus gain control of the Carnatic, there was no reason why he should not repeat the success in other provinces. So Dupleix made an alliance with one of the native claimants and helped him with French officers and troops; and by the close of 1750 they had overrun the whole province except the town of Trichinopoly at its southern end. There the other prince, whom we may call the English claimant, was besieged by his victorious enemies, and was sending appeals for aid to Madras. These events forced the Governor of Madras into taking up arms once more, although the new war was none of his seeking.

For the second time, and finally, Clive now laid down the pen for the sword. In 1751 Trichinopoly was hard pressed, and Dupleix knew that if he could only take it he could work his will in the whole province. Clive passed through the enemy's country to the beleaguered town, and returned with a report that it would soon fall unless something were done to save it. The British forces at Madras were too weak for a distant expedition, but Clive proposed to attack

Arcot, the native capital of the Carnatic, which was fairly near to Madras. The Governor agreed and put him at the head of a little force of eight officers and 500 men, mainly sepoys or native soldiers. They captured Arcot without difficulty, but to hold it was a different matter. For, as Clive had foreseen, the capture of the capital drew off a large body of the besiegers of Trichinopoly, who came in hot haste to exterminate the intruders in Arcot.

The defence of Arcot lasted fifty days, during which time Clive and his little band were continually attacked by overwhelming numbers, who gave them no rest by night or day. Towards the end food ran short, until nothing but a little rice remained. But Clive's valour and leadership had made so great an impression upon his sepoys that they offered to give up their share to



the Englishmen. 'Let the English have the grain,' they said, 'we can do with the water in which it is boiled.' With such men as these to back him Clive triumphed. Dupleix sent guns and French officers from Pondicherry and almost broke off the siege of Trichinopoly, but all to no avail. A great final attack in November was beaten off with heavy loss; and then the horde of assailants suddenly lost heart and fled in panic, leaving the fort of Arcot in the hands of those who had so boldly seized it.

The effect was far-reaching. It was nothing less than the beginning of the downfall of Dupleix. Up to this point the people of southern India had been convinced that the French

were better men than the English ; now they began to change their opinion. Offers of help were made to Clive, whilst Dupleix saw his hold upon the natives grow weaker. In 1752 Clive took the field with larger forces than before, and after some early successes set out on the great project of relieving Trichinopoly. He not only accomplished this after hard fighting, but also captured the French troops which were besieging the place. The French claimant fell into the hands of his native enemies and was killed by them, and the whole scheme of Dupleix crashed down in ruin.

News took long in those days to travel between India and Europe, and so the result of the French disaster at Trichinopoly was not seen until more than a year later. But when it came it was decisive. Dupleix had not troubled to obtain the consent of the French East India Company to his schemes. The directors were annoyed at not being consulted by one who was their own servant, and they were enraged when his expenditure of their money ended in failure. They therefore determined to recall him. In 1754 a ship arrived at Pondicherry, and a French officer landed. He went to Dupleix, told him that he was his successor, and ordered him to sail for France at once. Dupleix had nothing for it but to obey. He went home, was persecuted by the Company, stripped of his private fortune, and derided by those whom he had served. Nine years after leaving India he died a broken man. France in the eighteenth century treated her great men badly, but England, as we shall see, behaved no better.

The fall of Dupleix marks the end of the first period in Clive's career. Clive had saved British interests in southern India. His future exploits were to take place in a different part of that country. For the present he enjoyed a well-earned rest, going home to receive honour and promotion as the reward of ten years' strenuous work. He was now not quite thirty years of age.

Whilst the British and French had been fighting for the Carnatic, their factories in other parts of India had remained

at peace. In the rich province of Bengal either Company had a fortified post, the French at Chandernagore, and the English at Calcutta. The Nawab of the province had been a firm ruler, strong enough to compel both sets of Europeans to keep the peace in his dominions. The English asked nothing better, and all went well at Calcutta until 1756. In that year the old Nawab died and was succeeded by a violent-



tempered youth named Surajah Dowlah. Just at that time a new war, the Seven Years' War, was expected to break out between England and France, and the merchants at Calcutta were prudently strengthening the defences of their factory. Surajah Dowlah chose to consider this as a threat to himself. He advanced on Calcutta with a great army, captured the place after severe fighting, and locked up his English prisoners in a small cell called the Black Hole. One hundred and forty-six unfortunates were crammed into this place, and the

heat and suffocation of a single night killed all of them but twenty-three. Having achieved this exploit, Surajah Dowlah retired to his capital in the interior with great plunder, satisfied that he would never hear anything more of the English.

The news in due course reached Madras, where the authorities were in some doubt what to do. Their first impulse was to send all their available forces to recover Calcutta and take vengeance on the Nawab. But war with France was beginning, and it was rumoured that the French were sending a great expedition to India to turn the English once more out of the Carnatic. If this French force should arrive while Madras was stripped of defenders a great disaster might ensue. At length the Governor of Madras decided to take the risk. Clive had just come out to India for the second time, and he was appointed to command the expedition. He went by sea up the Bay of Bengal, and reached the mouth of the river Hugli at the close of 1756. He fought his way up the river and recaptured Calcutta without much difficulty. His orders were not to conquer Bengal but to compel the Nawab to pay compensation for the damage and the murders he had done. This was no easy task, for Surajah Dowlah was also aware that a French force was coming to India, and he hoped that if he wasted time enough they would save him.

Hollow negotiations therefore went on for some months, whilst Clive was growing more and more uneasy about the fate of Madras in his absence. At length he saw a way to settle the business. Surajah Dowlah had other crimes to his account besides that of the Black Hole. He treated his own subjects very badly, and his courtiers went always in fear of their lives. One of them, the General Mir Jaffir, now came to Clive with a proposal. If the English would advance to do battle, he promised that he would betray a part of the Nawab's army to them and give them an easy victory. In reward the English should make him Nawab in place of Surajah Dowlah. Clive accepted the offer and marched up

country until he met the Bengal army at Plassey. The odds were very great—about 3,000 to 50,000—and Mir Jaffir was a poor creature who was not to be trusted. Clive, however,



'Express camel', the quickest means of travelling in 18th-century India.
From a print in the United Services Museum.

decided to fight. He posted his men at the edge of a grove of trees, with his guns sweeping the open plain in front. Surajah Dowlah brought his great swarm within cannon shot, but hesitated to push home his attack. Mir Jaffir drew away from both sides, waiting to see which would win. After a long cannonade the Bengal Army began to fall into con-

fusion. Surajah Dowlah listened to traitors who told him that the day was lost. He mounted a swift camel and fled, and his whole army streamed off after him. The battle which decided the fate of Bengal was won, and Mir Jaffir rode in to congratulate the victors. A few days later Surajah Dowlah was captured and murdered by his own people, and the new Nawab ascended the throne. He distributed lavish rewards to those who had helped him there, and in particular he conferred a great estate upon Clive. It proved afterwards to be a fatal gift.

Clive soon found that he could not return to Madras. Mir Jaffir was so feeble a ruler that he could not have survived a month if the English had not stayed to support him. They had, in fact, conquered Bengal without meaning to, and they alone could keep order in the province. Clive, however, was able to send back men and money to Madras in time to help against the French invasion. The French force did not arrive until 1758. Two years later it was decisively beaten at Wandewash by Sir Eyre Coote, an officer who had fought at Plassey. Coote afterwards captured Pondicherry and ruined the French position in southern India. Clive himself never went back to Madras. He remained in Bengal until 1760, when he sailed direct for England. He was now a rich man, and his country rewarded him with the title of Lord Clive of Plassey. His honours had been well won, and he meant to enjoy them at his ease without any thought of returning to India.

After Clive quitted Bengal things began to go badly there. The English merchants at Calcutta were left in charge of a huge province containing almost as many inhabitants as the rest of the British Empire together. For men who knew little of politics it was no light task, neither were they very much interested in performing it well. They were much more concerned with making their own fortunes by all sorts of doubtful expedients. They dethroned and created Nawabs in order to collect a harvest of bribes from those whom they

favoured. They also claimed the right to trade throughout the country without paying duties. The result was oppression, rebellion, and a decay of trade, an unhappy time for the people of Bengal, and a decrease in the revenue of the East India Company. The Company sent out commands for its servants to behave better, but these had no effect. At length it appealed to Clive to go out once more and restore order in the province he had conquered. His health was bad, and he was loath to go, but he obeyed the call of duty. He arrived at Calcutta in 1765.

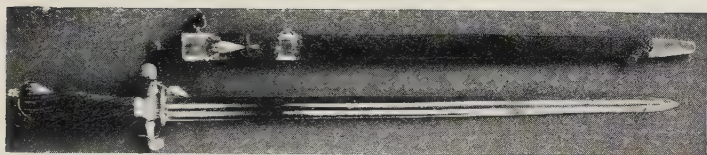
During his third and last period in India, Clive's main business was not fighting but setting up an honest government. He succeeded in putting a stop to the worst abuses, but in so doing he raised up a host of enemies against himself. These were the men whose game of plunder he spoiled. His first acts were to dismiss the whole of the Council at Calcutta and to appoint a new one. Then he tackled the private traders and stopped their proceedings. Finally, he cut down the excessive privileges of the army officers and dealt with a mutiny with unbending severity. He did all this for the public good and without a penny of gain to himself. He returned to England in 1767.

The men whom he had disappointed of making easy fortunes at the expense of others came home eager for revenge. They worked against Clive by underhand means, and turned against him many of the directors of the Company, who ought to have been most grateful to him. At length they brought forward their charges in Parliament. This man, they said, who had so righteously checked bribery in others, had taken a huge bribe himself, and they pointed to the rich estate which Mir Jaffir had conferred upon him after the Battle of Plassey. Clive defended himself with spirit. If he had grown rich he had first rendered great services to his country, and he had taken much less of the spoils of war than he might have done. He described the treasures of Bengal as they lay at his feet, and exclaimed in passionate words :

‘By God, Mr. Chairman, at this moment I stand astonished at my own moderation!’ And he concluded with a shrewd thrust against his greedy accusers: ‘Before I sit down, I have one request to make to the House—that, when they come to decide upon my honour, they will not forget their own.’

The Commons were impressed by this bold speech, the speech of a fighting man who knew that his best defence was to attack. They passed a resolution praising Clive for his great services, but at the same time they asserted that he had enriched himself, although they shrank from saying in plain words that he had done so unjustly. And there the inquiry ended, with the accusation undecided.

It was the best that Clive could hope from a body in which his enemies were strong. But his sensitive nature was wounded by what he considered the ingratitude of his country, and in 1774 he put an end to his own life in a fit of despair. He was only forty-nine years old.



Short sword worn by Wolfe when he fell at Quebec on 13th September, 1759

II

GENERAL JAMES WOLFE

the Conqueror of Canada

WHILST Englishmen were colonizing the coast-line of North America, Frenchmen were penetrating that continent to north and south of them by following the waters of two great rivers. Early in the seventeenth century the French ascended the St. Lawrence and founded Quebec and Montreal, and round these two centres there grew up the colony of New France, which we call Canada. Later in the same century French pioneers appeared on the Mississippi, and established at its mouth the colony of Louisiana. Nor was this all, for Frenchmen also peopled the peninsula of Acadia or Nova Scotia and the outlying island of Cape Breton, and they planted a few settlements on the shores of Newfoundland, which were valuable as the best fisheries of the New World.

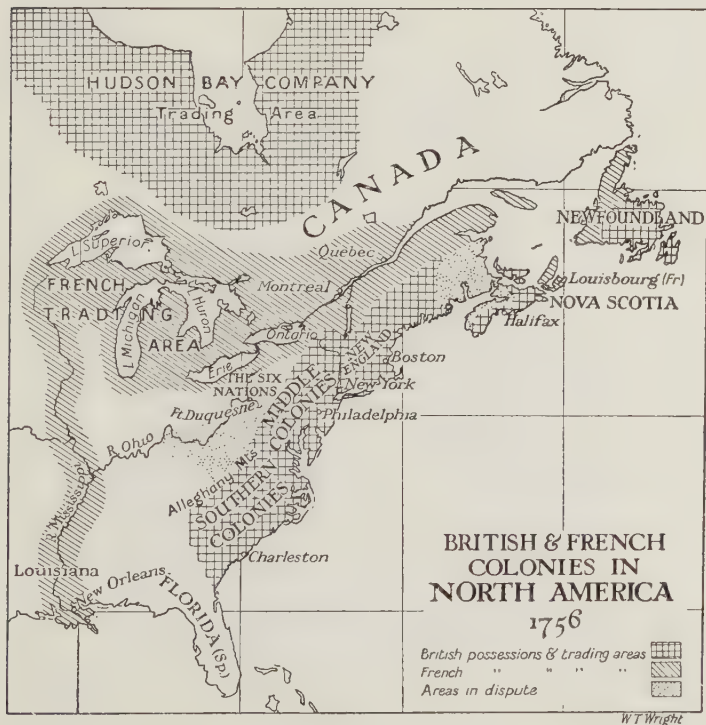
For nearly a century the English and the French remained at peace with one another, for at first there were only a few thousands of them in each colony, and in a great continent like North America there was plenty of room for all. But about the beginning of the eighteenth century the colonists began to push inland and to cross one another's paths, and at the same time wars broke out between England and France at home. Under William III and Queen Anne this

warfare was almost continuous. The fighting was chiefly in Europe, where Marlborough's great victories founded the reputation of the British regular army. In 1713 the Treaty of Utrecht brought the wars to an end, and by it France was obliged to give up Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, and Hudson's Bay to Great Britain. The French, however, still held a strong position in America. The only approach by sea to Canada was by the rocky and dangerous Gulf of St. Lawrence, choked by ice during half of every year. To make Canada yet more secure the Frenchmen built a great stronghold at the entrance of the Gulf. This was the fortress of Louisbourg on Cape Breton Island, a mass of forts and bastions with innumerable guns, perched on the crags surrounding a landlocked harbour in which a French fleet might take refuge in time of need. Before one could attack Canada it was first necessary to take Louisbourg, and France was confident that her fortress would make a good defence.

After 1713 there was a long period of peace, and then the wars broke out again. In spite of Walpole's efforts to avoid a quarrel England began fighting Spain in 1739 and France in 1743. In North America, with which we are here concerned, the chief event was the capture of Louisbourg by a force of British sailors and colonists. It will be remembered that about the same time Dupleix was taking Madras from the English far away on the other side of the world. The two events cancelled one another, for at the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle France gave back Madras, whilst England gave back Louisbourg. Dupleix was bitterly disappointed at losing his conquest, and so were the New England colonists at losing theirs.

In another way also events in India and America resembled each other. Just as Dupleix found an excuse to renew the wars in spite of the peace made at home, so the colonists in America did the same. Frenchmen and Indians made life unhappy for the English colonists of Nova Scotia, while far to the westward the adventurers of either side began a struggle

for the valley of the Ohio. To understand the importance of the Ohio it is necessary to study the map. It may then be seen that if the French had secured it, they could have linked up their colonies on the St. Lawrence with those on



W T Wright

the Mississippi, and so have barred any westward expansion by the British. To the British it was vital to prevent this. After years of disorderly fighting and barbarous Indian raids regular war was once more declared in 1756. It was the Seven Years' War. It was destined to end in the expulsion of the French from North America, but in the first two years things went very badly, and it seemed far more likely that

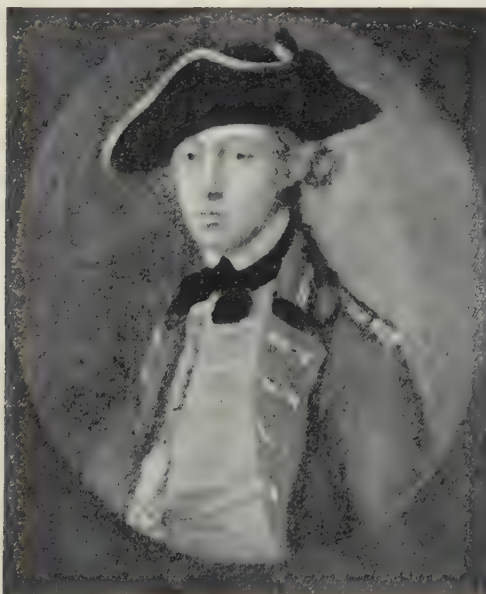
France would be victorious by land and sea. The tide was turned by the genius of two men—William Pitt the statesman, and James Wolfe the soldier.

James Wolfe was born in Kent in 1727. He very early made up his mind to be a soldier, as his father was before him, and before he was fifteen, such was the easy-going fashion of those days, he obtained a commission in an infantry regiment. Nor had he long to wait for active service, for war with France broke out soon afterwards, and Wolfe and his regiment crossed the Channel to fight under the eye of George II. Dettingen in 1743 is remembered as the last battle in which an English King commanded his army in person. Wolfe was there, and had his horse shot under him, but escaped being hurt himself. Although still only a boy, he was already the adjutant of his regiment.

His next fighting service was in Scotland. In 1745 Prince Charles Edward, the 'Young Pretender' of the exiled Stuart line, landed with a few followers. The clansmen rose in his support, and he gained victories, took Edinburgh, and marched on London. But at Derby he had to admit that the adventure was hopeless, for no Englishmen joined him, and his little force of 6,000 undisciplined men would have been swallowed up in the teeming streets of the capital, even had he reached it. The Prince, therefore, retreated to Scotland again. Meanwhile the English regulars were swarming over from Flanders, the Duke of Cumberland at their head, and the young Wolfe among them. Wolfe was with the force which fought the clansmen at Falkirk and again at the final battle of Culloden in 1746. On that day Charles Edward planned a surprise attack, but everything went wrong, and he found Cumberland's army ready for him. The Highlanders charged and were beaten by the steady fire of the regular troops, and the rebellion collapsed in disaster. Many stories are told of Cumberland's severity to the vanquished. One of them shows us Wolfe as a man of honour who was not afraid of a great general and a son of the King. It is said that Cumberland

ordered him to kill a wounded Highlander who smiled mockingly as they rode by, and that Wolfe indignantly refused. The Duke may have admired the spirit of the young officer ; at any rate Wolfe seems to have lost nothing by the incident.

Although a soldier, who at the age of twenty had made a reputation, Wolfe had in him nothing of the bullying



GENERAL JAMES WOLFE

From the portrait by Gainsborough.

Prussianism which was rather the fashion in Cumberland's army. He remained in various garrisons in Scotland for five years after the war, and tried hard to improve the education for which his brief school days had given little time. He was none too happy in the mess-room atmosphere of the period, and wrote that he dreaded to become 'a mere ruffian, proud, insolent, and intolerable'. He obtained leave to visit France

while the peace endured, in order to learn the methods of the French army. During these years his promotion was rapid. He was a lieutenant-colonel in command of a regiment at the age of twenty-three.

At the beginning of the Seven Years' War he served in Europe, taking part in an attack upon Rochefort in 1757. It was a blundering ill-managed affair, and Wolfe was one of the few who came out of it with credit. He was not a man who suffered fools gladly, and he seems to have been outspoken in his criticism of the mistakes which had been made. This caused the Duke of Newcastle, the feeble Prime Minister who could never see the use of a bold action, to say that he was mad. 'Mad, is he?' replied King George, 'then I hope he will bite some others of my generals.' George II could always appreciate courage, and William Pitt, who took Newcastle's place as head of the Government, also formed a good opinion of Wolfe.

Our scene now shifts to North America, where Wolfe was to perform the service which has made his name immortal. In the opening years of the war everything had gone badly there. General Braddock had been defeated and killed in attacking the French, and his successor, the Earl of Loudon, had avoided a like fate by doing nothing at all. The fault was largely with the Duke of Newcastle and the home Government. But Pitt came into power in time to plan the campaign of 1758. He determined that Canada should be vigorously attacked from three or four points at once, and that one of these attacks should be directed against Louisbourg. Pitt made a point of choosing his commanders on their merits alone, without regard to wealth or political influence. To assault Louisbourg he chose General Amherst, and Wolfe was made a general to serve as his chief assistant. Wolfe was always very ill at sea, and in those days a voyage across the Atlantic was no light matter for one of a delicate constitution. Nevertheless, he was delighted with the chance of rendering some service, and determined that the expedition should not fail by any backwardness of his.

A PLAN of the CITY
of PORTFICATIONS of
LOUISBURG.



- References.
- | | |
|------------------------|----------------------------|
| a. Glacis | l. Chapel |
| b. GreenWay | m. Barricks |
| c. Travellers | n. Penolds Magazine |
| d. Ditch | o. Entification House |
| e. Parapet | p. Arsenal & Blackhouse |
| f. Rampart | q. Ordnance Store |
| g. Talus or Slope of | r. General Storehouse |
| the Rampart | s. Fredericks Gate |
| h. Grenado | t. Martiques Gate |
| i. Guard Houses | u. Queens Gate |
| k. Governors Apartment | v. Frequent Line round du- |
| | ring the Siege in 1745. |
| | x. Circular Battery |
| | y. Circular Gate |

1. *Glacis* 4. *Concombricarp.* 7. *Banquet*
2. *Banquet* 5. *Ditch* 8. *Rainpart*
3. *Covert Way* 6. *Parquet* 9. *Talbot*

The fleet and the army sighted Louisbourg on 1st June. For a week storms and fogs prevented anything from being done, whilst the French were making batteries and trenches to defend every possible landing place. On 8th June Wolfe led the first attacking party. They rowed towards the beach in the ships' boats under a heavy fire. Even Wolfe thought success was impossible, and hoisted a signal to retreat. But the mast which carried the flags was immediately shot away, and he accepted the omen and went on. The boats pressed forward, drove among the breakers, and were upset or smashed on the rocks which strewn the shore. Some men were drowned, the rest struggled to land, and Wolfe formed them up upon the beach. Then with a bayonet charge which nothing could resist, they drove the French from their trenches and helter-skelter into Louisbourg. British soldiers had made a landing such as was never repeated until their descendants took the Gallipoli beaches in 1915. King George was right; Wolfe was just the kind of madman needed for such work.

The siege of Louisbourg now began. For six weeks soldiers and seamen worked together, pushing their trenches ever closer to the walls, raising batteries, and bombarding every inch of the doomed town. A French fleet lay in the landlocked harbour. Its admiral sank some of his ships to block the entrance, and Wolfe's guns set fire to the rest. At length almost every house in Louisbourg was a ruin, and a great breach was torn in the walls. When the British were about to make the final assault, the French surrendered. The gate of the St. Lawrence had fallen. Its defenders sailed away as prisoners of war, and the victors set to work to level its battlements with the earth. To-day a few grass-grown mounds mark the site of what was once the strongest fortress in America.

Wolfe was for an immediate push up the river to attack Quebec. But Amherst thought otherwise, and nothing more was done that year. Wolfe went home to England for the winter to take the waters at Bath and restore his health.

which had suffered severely in the campaign. Pitt was still determined to drive the French from Canada, and he chose Wolfe to lead the great attack upon Quebec in 1759. When the plans were complete he had the young general to dine



The raw material of victory. Cartoon by Henry Bunbury (1750-1811).

with him. It is said that Wolfe talked rather boastfully, and that Pitt doubted for the moment whether he had chosen the right man. But Wolfe's confident words came from his absolute truthfulness ; he knew he could do what he promised, and he saw no reason for concealing the fact. Englishmen in those days were not all of the stolid, silent (and sometimes

stupid) type. There were some among the great men of the eighteenth century who burned with a fire which they made no effort to repress. Wolfe was of these, so was Pitt himself, and so also was Nelson, the greatest of them all. If they sometimes talked like actors they silenced criticism by their deeds.

Wolfe sailed in the spring of 1759 for Halifax, on the coast of Nova Scotia, where his expedition was to muster. There he made his preparations whilst waiting for the ice to melt within the Gulf. At length the voyage up the St. Lawrence began. It was very dangerous by reason of rocks, currents, and lack of charts. Once before, in the wars of Queen Anne, a British expedition had attempted to sail up to Quebec, and it had been ruined by shipwrecks at the outset. Many Frenchmen were confident that this would be Wolfe's fate also. But the Navy served him well. Its officers seized French pilots and forced them to yield up their secret knowledge; and where this did not avail they piloted their own ships in waters they had never seen before, simply by their own cunning mastery of their profession. One of these officers was a certain James Cook, destined to rise to fame in very distant seas. At the end of June the whole force drew near to Quebec.

It was then for the first time that the greatness of their task dawned upon them. Wolfe and his officers had never seen the place before; they had little knowledge of its position, its defences, or the numbers of its garrison. On all these matters they had been obliged to trust to fortune, and the reality was appalling. What they saw was this. On a rocky peninsula jutting out from the northern bank stood the ramparts of Quebec. Down-stream the river was about two miles wide, opposite the city itself it narrowed to a little less than a mile, and above it widened out again. To take the city they must land on the northern side, either above or below their prey. But for miles up river the shore was a precipice two or three hundred feet high, unscaleable save

by a few winding paths each well guarded by the French. At such places a hundred men could stop an army. Below Quebec the shore was lower, but yet steep. Here in parts there was a shelving beach, bordered by shallow waters and only approachable in small boats. The French knew that this was the best landing place, and they had fortified it with six miles of entrenchments and forts and every kind of obstacle, stretching from the city to the point where the tributary river Montmorency flowed into the main stream. The Montmorency itself was an effective barrier to the advance of any troops landing lower down. It rushed through a tree-clad gorge and tumbled over a roaring cataract to the shore. To crown all, the Marquis de Montcalm, the French commander, had nearly twice as many men under him as had Wolfe who came to the attack. To besiege Quebec, Wolfe had first to solve the problem of how to get near it, and the approach of the Canadian winter gave him three months for the whole task. Unless the British were in Quebec within that time they must pack up and depart ere the ice should nip their ships.

Wolfe placed his men in three camps, one near the mouth of the Montmorency, one on the Isle of Orleans in mid-stream, and one on Point Levi facing the city across the narrowest part of the great river. The effective range of the great guns of that day was about a mile, and from Point Levi he was able to bombard Quebec. But this, whilst inflicting damage on the enemy, could not make him submit. Then for weeks, the brief summer slipping away, the English general tried this point and that, always to find the French watchful and prepared. If he went up-stream in his ships Montcalm's men marched abreast of him on the northern bank and were ready at every landing place. If he approached the lower coast beneath the city it was always to see the rows of trenches held by twice as many men as he could hope to land there. Once he did try a landing, and his first boatloads of grenadiers got out of control, dashed at the French without

To the Right Honourable WILLIAM PITT Esq^r
 One of His Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council
 AND PRINCIPAL SECRETARY OF STATE &c

This Plan is most Humbly Inscribed
 By his most Obligated and
 most Obedient Humble Serv^t

Thos. Jefferys

DEFENCES of QUEBEC

Batteries	N ^o of Guns.	Mortars
A. The Citadel	9	0
B. The Battery on Barbette	28	5
C. Salina's Leap	7	0
D. The Hospital St.	8	0
E. A New Battery over the ruins pointed thro' Pickets	8	0
F. Quivern Battery no 12 mounted	0	0
G. New Battery at the upper part of the Kings yard	3	0
H. New Battery at the lower part of the Kings yard	3	0
I. Royal Battery	10	0
K. Dauphin Battery	10	0
L. New Battery	7	0



An AUTHENTIC PLAN
 of the
 RIVER ST. LAURENCE
 from

Sillery to the Fall of Montmorency
 with the Operations of the
 SIEGE of QUEBEC
 under the Command of

Vice Adm^l Saunders & Major Gen^l Wolfe
 down to the 5th Sep^r 1759.

Drawn by a CAPTAIN in his Majesty's Navy

British Miles

A plan of the siege of QUEBEC, by a naval officer who was present.



All the places mentioned in the chapter can be traced on this plan.

waiting for support, and were shot down in hundreds for their pains. And Wolfe, the madman of the Louisbourg beaches, was compelled by the irony of fate to reprove his own men for over-forwardness in action. His agony of mind was great, with the time limit ever drawing nearer, and he fell into a fever so severe that for a few days his life was despaired of.

At the beginning of September he tried up river again, only to find a large body of Frenchmen waiting for him at the one place where the crest of the cliffs dipped to the shore. On the way up he had noticed a path a mile from the city winding up the face of the precipice. At its summit was a cluster of tents showing the presence of a French guard. If alert, these men could easily hold their own until help arrived. The sole chance of success was to take them by surprise. Wolfe determined to try it by night. From a deserter he had learned that Montcalm was expecting a convoy of provisions to come down the river on the night appointed. There was a gambler's chance that the English boats might be mistaken for this convoy in the darkness.

At two in the morning the tide began to ebb down towards Quebec, and the flotilla bearing the soldiers moved with it. As they passed a French post a sentry challenged them, and a Scotch officer answered in French: 'We are the provision boats. Don't make a noise—the English will hear us.' The sentry retired satisfied. Had he fired his musket there would have been no capture of Quebec.

At the appointed place a handful of picked men scrambled silently up the path. At the top they found the guard asleep in their tents. Those waiting below heard a few shots and a scuffle, and a cheer that told them the path was won. They crowded up in their hundreds, and as the dawn broke the British army stood ranked upon the Heights of Abraham ready at last to fight on fair terms for the city whose walls stood before them.

Montcalm in his camp below Quebec knew full well the meaning of the tidings which reached him. 'It is a serious



A VIEW OF THE TAKING OF QUEBEC, 1759. The picture shows the battle in progress on the Heights of Abraham, and English reinforcements ascending the cliffs which Wolfe had secured on the previous night. The city is on lower ground beyond, and in the distance is seen the shore on which Montcalm's army was encamped before the landing.

business', he said, and he galloped up with every available man to bar Wolfe's approach to the ramparts. The rival generals took time to draw up their men, each knowing that the issue of that September morning would decide the fate of Canada. The regular troops of those days stood shoulder to shoulder, three deep, with bayonets fixed, and waited for the word of command before they put finger to trigger. So, like a motionless scarlet wall, Wolfe's infantry awaited the French. Montcalm had more men, Canadian backwoodsmen as well as French regulars, and he decided to attack that day. His line advanced firing, and many Englishmen dropped. But the old soldiers of Dettingen and Fontenoy knew that it was not distant shooting which decided a battle, and they reserved their fire until the French came closer. At thirty yards—the decisive range of the old smooth-bore musket—the word was given, and like one man the whole British line fired. It was such a volley, so well timed and well aimed, as no man had seen in a battle before, and when the smoke lifted there seemed to be more Frenchmen on the ground than on their feet. The survivors wavered, tried to reform their ranks, then turned and fled. The scarlet wall advanced, now with levelled bayonets, and the Battle of Quebec was won.

Wolfe had been struck in the arm before the great volley, but he seemed not to notice it. As the line advanced it was much harassed by the Canadian irregulars, who took cover behind rocks and bushes and kept up a fire after their main body was broken. One of their bullets wounded Wolfe as he strode forward, but again he refused to give heed. His eyes were on Quebec, and nothing else mattered. A few moments later a third bullet brought him to the ground with a mortal wound. He sent off a messenger to hasten the pursuit, and died on the field with the exultant cry, 'They run! they run!' ringing in his ears.

For Montcalm also it was the last battle. A bullet found him as he strove to rally his beaten men, and his famous

black charger bore him dying through the gates of Quebec with the crowd of fugitives. The real siege now began, and it was a brief affair. Within a week the white flag went up, and the city passed into the conquerors' hands. Next year the capture of Montreal completed the conquest of Canada.

The story of Wolfe is not told without mention of the poem with which his last hours are for ever linked. Like many great fighters he had a mind for something more than bloodshed. As the boats dropped down the river to the foot of the heights he recited to his officers the *Elegy, written in a Country Churchyard*, by Thomas Gray, and as he finished the immortal lines he said, 'Gentlemen, I would rather have written that poem than take Quebec.' It is no wonder that the *Elegy* went to the hearts of these men, with its quiet picture of the simple rustic England which had bred them, an England so soon, had they known it, to be engulfed within the squalor and vulgarity of the industrial age in which their descendants are fated to live.



Medal of 1760. By the capture of Montreal, 1760, the conquest of Canada was completed, and the whole territory was evacuated by France in the autumn of that year. The pine-tree and eagle symbolize the country, the beaver indicates the St. Lawrence, and the British standard shows in whose possession the country now is.



This coin is from one of the first issues
struck by Congress in the U.S.A.

III

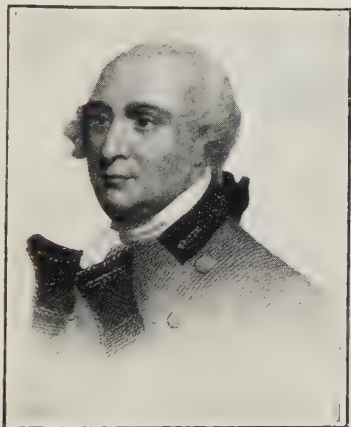
SIR GUY CARLETON, LORD DORCHESTER

and the Development of British North America

GUY CARLETON, born a year before Clive and three years before Wolfe, stands in our record as a maker of Canada, the oldest of the white dominions now under the British flag. His career differs from those of his two great contemporaries in that the work upon which his fame is founded was done in his middle and later years, after Wolfe was dead and after Clive had retired from active life. As in other matters, we may here trace a parallel between British India and British North America in the eighteenth century. In India Clive the conqueror was followed by Warren Hastings, the wise ruler and preserver; so in Canada Wolfe destroyed the French ascendancy and afterwards Carleton laid the foundation of the British dominion and preserved it from conquest by the revolutionaries of the older American colonies.

Carleton's earlier record was that of a distinguished officer, although not of a great commander, in the Austrian Succession and Seven Years' Wars. He was born in Ireland in 1724, became an ensign in the 25th Foot in 1742, and rose to be lieutenant-colonel in 1757. Then he went to America, the testing-place of so many reputations, the grave of some and the forcing-bed of others. British public life has been fortunate

in possessing a colonial field of activity. For while at home many a man has risen to high office and held it without much real merit, colonial service, especially in the rough-and-tumble days of the foundation of the Empire, has generally distinguished the true from the false and exposed the man whose pretensions have been greater than his worth. Carleton emerged from the test with credit. He served at Louisbourg in 1758, and Wolfe liked him so well that he insisted upon having him in the Quebec expedition of the following year. George II wished to employ him in Germany, but at length gave way to Wolfe's urgings. To Quebec accordingly Carleton went as quartermaster-general, and he was wounded in the battle on the Heights of Abraham. He was wounded again at Belle-Isle on the coast of France in 1761, and once more at Havana in 1762.



SIR GUY CARLETON,
LORD DORCHESTER

Wolfe's death left General Murray the senior officer at Quebec, and Murray governed Canada for six years after the fall of Montreal in 1760. It was a difficult position for a British officer, for he had to rule a population of Frenchmen who were ignorant of English law and methods of government. In addition they were all Roman Catholics, which did not make things easier in an age when religious toleration was not so much a matter of course as it is to-day. Murray, however, rose to the occasion. He made no attempt to introduce elections and representative government, which the French did not understand, but ruled as a paternal despot, issuing his orders by means of proclamations, and gaining the affec-

tion of the people by strict justice and fair play. It was a contrast to the behaviour of the former French officials, who had been greedy and corrupt, and most of the Canadians felt that they were really better off under their British conquerors.

In 1766 Carleton again went to Canada as Lieutenant-Governor, and in the following year Murray's retirement left him as the acting Governor of the province. He tried to continue the tradition which Murray had established, but the difficulties were increasing and awkward questions required settlement. One of these was the question of the law. Even in a primitive community like Canada the law had to concern itself with two large classes of business—with the punishment of crime and with the rights of property, especially with the ownership of land. France and England in the course of their history had developed totally different legal systems, so that a man brought up under the one could not understand the working of the other. Frenchmen, for example, knew nothing of trial by jury, which Englishmen regarded as the essence of fair play in criminal cases; and in the tenure of land and the rules of buying and selling and the inheritance of estates the French civil law appeared extremely complicated to English minds. By an ordinance of 1764 the Home Government had ordered that English law, civil as well as criminal, should be enforced in Canada, and had sent out a staff of judges and other officials to introduce it. This caused much confusion and discontent. Murray had protested against these steps, and Carleton when he came into power partly reversed them by allowing the French to enjoy their accustomed rules of land tenure.

Another question which Carleton had to face was that of the intrusion of English-speaking merchants and adventurers into Canada. There were not many of them, but they seemed to expect that as members of the conquering nation they ought to have a privileged position as against the French. Both Murray and Carleton set their faces against this claim

and incurred a good deal of hatred in consequence. Most of the intruders were from the old American colonies, and there was no love lost between them and the French. For the most part they were not genuine settlers, but rather fortune-hunters on the look-out for some kind of plunder. They gave much trouble to the British Governors. Murray described them as 'the most immoral collection of men I ever knew'.

Carleton went to England on leave in 1770, and the information he was able to give the Government resulted in the



framing of the Quebec Act, passed by Lord North in 1774. This measure decreed that the Governor of Canada should rule with the aid of a Council, nominated and not elected, to be chosen from among the colonists, and to include both Catholics and Protestants. On the legal question it was decided that criminal cases were to be tried by jury in the English fashion, whilst disputes about land and property were to be settled by the French law. The Act confirmed the existing toleration of the Catholic religion, and made provision for the payment of the priests. It also extended the boundaries of Canada to include the unsettled country

round the Great Lakes and southward to the junction of the Ohio and the Mississippi. The decisions thus made were acknowledged by the French Canadians to be fair and just, and Carleton was received with great goodwill when he returned to Quebec to put the Act into force. It was fortunate that the Canadians were in a good humour, for a storm was shortly to burst upon the colony.

From the moment when the Treaty of Paris had put an end to the victorious Seven Years' War, a rift had appeared in the solid fabric of the Empire. The old American colonies which dated from the arrival of John Smith with his handful of settlers in Virginia in 1607 were now thirteen in number, covering the American coast-line from Maine in the north to Georgia in the south. In a century and a half their inhabitants had developed into a nation nearly two millions strong. They no longer felt that they needed to rely upon the mother country for defence, especially since the French power had been driven from America, and they began to chafe at the restrictions upon their trade and liberty which the imperial system involved. It is true that the British colonists were freer than those of any other nation, but they were also more self-reliant and enterprising. It is true also that the trade regulations contained in the Navigation Acts were intended to benefit both colonies and mother country, yet their effect was only to produce jealousy and irritation and to give an opportunity for the underhand action of those business interests which it is so desirable to exclude from any part in the government of the State. The result of these conditions was that the old colonial Empire of Great Britain broke into two fragments, the American colonies becoming the United States on the one side of the Atlantic, and Great Britain on the other side retaining the allegiance of her remaining possessions. In this catastrophe the fate of Canada was determined by Guy Carleton more than by any other man.

The steps in the American quarrel were briefly these. George Grenville, the first Prime Minister after the peace

overhauled the Navigation Acts and tightened up their restrictions in 1764. In the following year he passed the Stamp Act in order to levy a tax upon the colonists, whereby they should pay some share of the cost of their own defence. The Americans with one accord refused to pay the stamp tax, declaring that the ancient right of Englishmen was to be taxed only by the grant of their own representatives, and that they themselves were not represented in the Home Parliament. Rockingham, who succeeded Grenville, repealed the Stamp Act in 1766, and for a short time there was peace. Next, in 1767, Charles Townshend, Chancellor of the Exchequer, imposed import duties upon tea and certain manufactured goods entering the colonies. Again there was resistance, rioting, and a combination of American traders to refuse to import British goods. This continued until 1770, when Lord North's Cabinet abolished all the duties except that on tea, and again the agitation died down. Finally, in 1773, North passed the Tea Act, giving the East India Company the right to sell its tea in American ports on more favourable terms than those enjoyed by private dealers. The Americans, in reply, refused to buy the Company's tea, and at Boston a crowd of rioters boarded the tea ships and threw the cargoes into the water. George III, greatly incensed, gave his assent to the intolerable Acts of 1774, whereby the port of Boston was closed and some of its self-governing privileges were taken away from the colony of Massachusetts. The Quebec Act, passed at the same time, helped to infuriate the Americans by its toleration to the Catholics of Canada and its enlargement of the boundaries of that province. The hot-heads on either side got out of control, and the War of Independence began in 1775 with the Battles of Lexington and Bunker Hill.

In the summer of 1775 the American revolutionaries surprised the little British garrison of Ticonderoga on Lake Champlain, and so gained control of the waters of the lake. Its importance was that from its northern end there flowed the River Richelieu by which boats could pass into the

St. Lawrence between Quebec and Montreal. From its southern end a short land route gave access to the Hudson River flowing down to New York. Lake Champlain was thus the central link in an almost unbroken waterway from the Atlantic to the heart of Canada, and its possession gave the Americans the chance of invading their northern neighbour, which had hitherto shown no disposition to join in the revolt.

They lost no time in making use of their prize. In August 1775 General Robert Montgomery started northwards from Ticonderoga with more than 2,000 men. He had been a British officer in the Seven Years' War, but had now forgotten his old allegiance and taken up arms against King George. A British post at St. John's on the Richelieu made a great resistance for nearly two months before Montgomery could overcome it and proceed with the invasion.

The respite afforded Carleton the time to prepare a defence of Canada. But his prospects were very gloomy, almost desperate. He had only 900 regular troops in the whole colony. The few English-speaking inhabitants were for the most part Americans and disaffected. The French gentry and the priests were loyal to Britain and anxious to help, but the mass of the peasants refused to lift a finger for either side. Perhaps they ought not to be judged too harshly; for them it was but a choice of conquerors. A few of them actually joined the Americans, but their priests discouraged that movement by refusing to confess the rebels. As it turned out, the neutrality of the Canadian peasants just enabled Carleton to save the colony. Had they been hostile, all would have been lost. The credit for conciliating them belongs to Murray and Carleton and the framers of the Quebec Act.

Carleton, as we have seen, had an uphill task. In November Montgomery, having at last taken St. John's, arrived before Montreal. Carleton's regulars were not there, and he could get no fighting from the country folk. Montreal submitted without a struggle, and Carleton escaped down river to

Quebec, the Americans nearly capturing him on the way. He was right to choose Quebec rather than Montreal for his last stand. He had been one of its conquerors in 1759, and he knew its strength.

Meanwhile, a second American army had entered Canada. It was led by a general named Benedict Arnold, who in



after days went over to the English side. Arnold started from New England, crossed the watershed east of Lake Champlain, and followed the Chaudière River down to the St. Lawrence. It was a rough march, with many fatigues and hardships, and the majority of his 1,500 men fell sick or deserted before he arrived with the remainder at Point Levi, whence Wolfe had bombarded Quebec sixteen years before. Nevertheless the Americans, after Montgomery had

come down the river and joined Arnold, had a superiority in numbers over Carleton. The latter, within the city, organized what defence he could, although he had no men to guard the shores for miles above and below as Montcalm had done. Montgomery and Arnold on their side had the winter against them, and also the fact that many of their troops were enlisted for short terms and would not stay after their time was out. This compelled them to assault Quebec before the time was ripe. On the last night of the year 1775 they tried a surprise under cover of the darkness. But Carleton was on the alert, the attack was beaten off, Montgomery was killed, and Arnold was wounded. Arnold kept up a blockade of the city until the ice broke up in the summer of 1776. Then a British fleet arrived with reinforcements, and the Americans had to withdraw. Carleton by his plucky defence had saved Canada to the Empire.

As soon as he was strong enough he sallied out after his retreating enemies and pursued them as far as Crown Point on Lake Champlain. The Home Government showed its appreciation of his services by creating him a Knight of the Bath, but soon afterwards he fell out with Lord George Germaine, the Secretary for War. Germaine had dispatched General Burgoyne with large reinforcements to Canada, and Burgoyne's commission empowered him to act independently of the Governor. Carleton, a tried commander, resented this, and asked to be relieved of his post. Burgoyne in 1777 set out from Canada to march his army down to the main theatre of war in the older colonies. He advanced down Lake Champlain and got as far as the upper reaches of the Hudson River. There he met with disaster. The New Englanders surrounded him in overwhelming numbers, and he had to surrender at Saratoga. The calamity meant something more than the loss of an army, for it emboldened France to ally herself with the Americans, and the French Navy ultimately decided the issue of the war. Carleton, bitterly disappointed at the turn things had taken, was recalled to England in 1778.

For four years Carleton, like several others of the best commanders the country had, remained unemployed by Lord North's Government. During that time misfortunes heaped themselves upon the British Empire. Spain declared war in 1779, and Holland in 1780. The American revolutionaries were unsubdued, although Lord Cornwallis won some striking victories in the southern States. In that region the end came unexpectedly in 1781. Among its other sins the British Government had allowed the Navy to decline, whilst at the same time France had improved the efficiency of her own fleets. Lord Cornwallis, after a successful campaign through the Carolinas, had reached Yorktown on the coast of Virginia. There he encamped to await reinforcements from Sir Henry Clinton at New York. Washington, the American Commander-in-Chief, saw his opportunity. He marched with all his forces against Yorktown, at the same time requesting de Grasse, the French admiral, to blockade it by sea. De Grasse hastened to do his part, a weak British fleet tried but failed to drive him off, and Yorktown, cut off from aid, was left to its fate. Cornwallis surrendered with his whole army; French sea-power had decided the War of Independence.

Too late the Government appointed Sir Guy Carleton to command in America. But he went there only to withdraw the remnant of the British forces, for at the same time (1782) Britain acknowledged the independence of the United States. Carleton remained at New York from May 1782 to the end of 1783. Even amid the general ruin he was able to do good work for Canada. By the terms of peace with the United States it was provided that those Americans who had been loyal to the King and had fought on the losing side should not be ill treated by their victorious fellow countrymen. But Congress was unable to carry out its pledge. In every State the loyalists found themselves vindictively persecuted. All who had fought for the King were marked men, and they had nothing for it but to quit the country. Throughout the

summer of 1783 streams of these refugees arrived at New York from the interior, and upon Carleton fell the duty of sending them to places of safety. He provided shipping, clothes, and food, and transported the emigrants up the coast to Nova Scotia and the mouth of the St. Lawrence. At the same time others were crossing the land frontier from the United States into Canada.

The British Government realized that it owed a debt to these patriotic men. It conferred on them the title of United Empire Loyalists, paid them compensation for their losses, and granted them new lands in its remaining North American colonies. Some of them settled in Nova Scotia, others formed the province of New Brunswick in hitherto uninhabited territory to the north of the Bay of Fundy. But the greater number entered the Canadian region north of the great lakes and west of Montreal. There they carved out the new province of Ontario or Upper Canada. They were the first large body of British settlers in Canada proper, of which Nova Scotia was not then reckoned as a part.

The settlement of the United Empire Loyalists made changes necessary in the government of Canada. The Loyalists were not, like the French of Quebec, a people who knew nothing of constitutional government. They had always been accustomed in their American colonies to elect their representatives to the Assembly which framed their laws, and they expected to enjoy the same privileges now. And the British Government, for which they had sacrificed so much, could not decently deny their wishes. But the French were the difficulty, for they not only did not ask for representative government, but even disliked it, thinking it an expedient for raising more taxes. In 1786 Carleton was created Lord Dorchester, and sent out once more as Governor of Canada. His reports finally decided the home authorities upon their course of action, although he did not altogether approve of the solution they arrived at. In 1791 William Pitt (the younger), then Prime Minister, passed the Canada Constitutional

The Cataract of NIAGARA some make
this Water-Fall to be half a League while
others reckon it no more than
a-hundred Fathom.



A View of the Industry of Beavers of Canada in making Dams to stop the Course of a Rivulet in order to form a great Lake, about w^{ch} they build their Habitations. To Effect this they fell large Trees with their Teeth, in such a manner as to make them come Croys & River let, to lay the Foundation of a Dam, they make Mortar work up, and finish the whole with great order and wonderfull Dexterity. The Beavers have two Doors to their Lodges, one to the Water and the other to the Land side According to French Accounts

The country settled by the United Empire Loyalists. A 17th-century view of Niagara Falls. From Moll's Atlas.



The earliest map showing Niagara Falls (not named, but indicated near bottom margin). From Les Voyages de la Nouvelle France, by S. de Champlain, 1632.

Act. It divided the country into two provinces, Upper and Lower Canada. For each it provided a Lieutenant-Governor, a Council, and an Assembly elected by the inhabitants without distinction of race or religion. A Governor-in-Chief was to supervise the whole country. We shall have occasion to study the working of this Act in a later chapter ; for the time being it provided a plan under which Canada could make progress.

Lord Dorchester remained as Governor-in-Chief until 1796. Under him the country settled down and the foundations were laid of the great dominion of to-day. He continued to the end a humane and broad-minded ruler although, when occasion demanded, a severe disciplinarian. Canada loved him and was sorry to part with him. He passed his last years in England, and died, full of years and honours, in 1808—nearly half a century after Wolfe, a younger man than he, had fallen on the Heights of Abraham.



IV. CAPTAIN JAMES COOK

the Pioneer of the Pacific Ocean

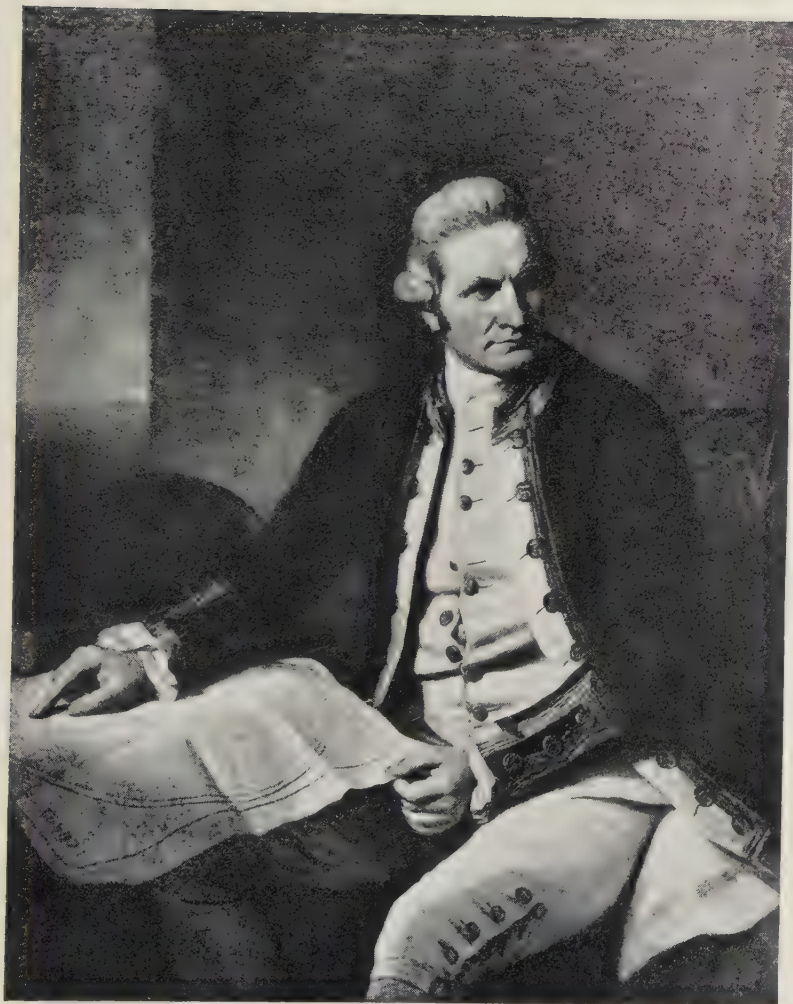
THE old British colonial Empire came to an end with the signing of the treaties which acknowledged American independence in 1783, and out of its ashes a new Empire began immediately to arise with the settlement of the United Empire Loyalists in Canada. But even before this an English explorer had been doing the pioneer work which opened the way for the foundation of British Australia, the second largest white dominion of the present day. The explorer was Captain Cook, and the story of his career is notable for two reasons ; first, because of the service he did for his country, and, secondly, because he showed, as other great men have done, that brains and courage will triumph over all difficulties and will raise a man to the highest place in his profession, in spite of any handicaps he may suffer at the outset.

James Cook was born in a Yorkshire village in 1728. His father was a farm labourer, and doubtless thought he was giving the boy a fine chance in life by apprenticing him to a draper at Staithes. But the boy thought otherwise. Whitby harbour, a few miles away, held coasters, colliers, and fishing craft, whose crews came and went, and had tales to tell of adventures and foreign lands. The draper's shop offered eventual prosperity to one who would work and save. Cook was not afraid of work—in all his life he scarcely allowed

himself an idle day—but the smug prosperity of a tradesman did not attract him. There was a courage in him which would not endure to rust behind a counter. At daybreak one morning he was missing from the shop, never to return. His master asserted that there was also a shilling missing from the till, but there were some who said that the worthy draper had spent the shilling at the tavern on the previous night and had come home too drunk to remember the fact. The explanation is probably correct, for Cook was notably an honest man in an age when honesty was none too fashionable in English life.

It was in 1742, at the age of fourteen, that James Cook ran away to sea. In his village days he had learned to read and write. So far as we know he had no other education, and he now entered upon a life which gave him fewer chances for study than any other he could have chosen. Yet twenty years afterwards he appears as a man knowing all there is to be known about navigation, an accomplished surveyor, able to make unrivalled charts and sketches of new coast-lines, and a writer of clear and vigorous English in a style equal to that of any of the gently bred officers of his day. When we remember that during that time his life had been that of a ship's boy, a coaster's mate, and a warrant officer in the Navy, the result appears astonishing. He must have been gifted with remarkable powers of concentration and steadiness of purpose to carry on his studies in the rowdy fore-castles and half-decks which were his home. But all this is left to our imagination. Cook himself has said never a word about it.

He appears to have served at first in small vessels trading up and down the coast between the coal ports and London. By 1755 he was the mate of one such craft. In that year the colonial quarrel with France was entering upon its final stage. There was great activity in fitting the Navy for service and calling up seamen from the merchant ships. In May Cook was in London, prepared to take the second decisive



CAPTAIN COOK

From the portrait by Nathaniel Dance, R.A., in the Gallery of Greenwich Hospital. Photograph by Emery Walker

step of his life. He volunteered for the Navy, and was enlisted as an able seaman. It was a humble beginning for a man with a dozen years of sea service behind him, but at such a time the chances of promotion were good. In fact, he was



A coasting vessel of Cook's time.

not two months in the Navy before he was given the rank of master's mate in a ship which took part in the earlier fighting of the Seven Years' War. In 1758 he served on board the *Pembroke* in the expedition which took Wolfe and Amherst to the capture of Louisbourg. There is no record of Cook's personal exploits, but the *Pembroke's* crew bore a worthy part in the fighting, and we may imagine that such a man

as Cook was by no means backward to do his share.¹ In 1759 again he served under Wolfe and Admiral Sir Charles Saunders in the expedition to Quebec. There we do hear of him by name. He did excellent work, often under the enemy's fire, in taking soundings and making charts of the dangerous channels of the river, and for this he was favourably noticed by the admiral. At the close of the campaign he was pro-



The world-map of Jodocus Hondius, showing the supposed southern continent, *Terra Australis Incognita*.

moted to be master of the *Northumberland*, which remained for some years upon the North American coast.

The rank of master was a survival of the old order in which a warship's captain had often been a landsman with no knowledge of the sea. The captain had fought the ship and the master had sailed her. That state of affairs was now passing away, and the naval captains of the eighteenth century

¹ The fact that Cook was at Louisbourg has only been discovered in recent years. See the *Life of Cook* by Arthur Kitson, 1911. Older works give an incorrect account of this part of his career.

were seamen with a lifelong experience of their profession. But the distinction of rank was still kept up. The master was considered as an officer, but of a lower grade than the captains and lieutenants who held the King's commission and with it nearly all the chances of high promotion.

Cook was employed on the American station, with brief intervals at home, until 1767. His survey of the harbour of Placentia in Newfoundland gained him such credit that he was appointed Marine Surveyor of Newfoundland and Labrador. In that office he did brilliant work, so that the sailing directions for these waters down to the present day are based almost entirely upon the observations he made. Although he was still only of warrant rank, his thoroughness and devotion to duty had by now made him a man of mark, fit to be trusted with any important task,

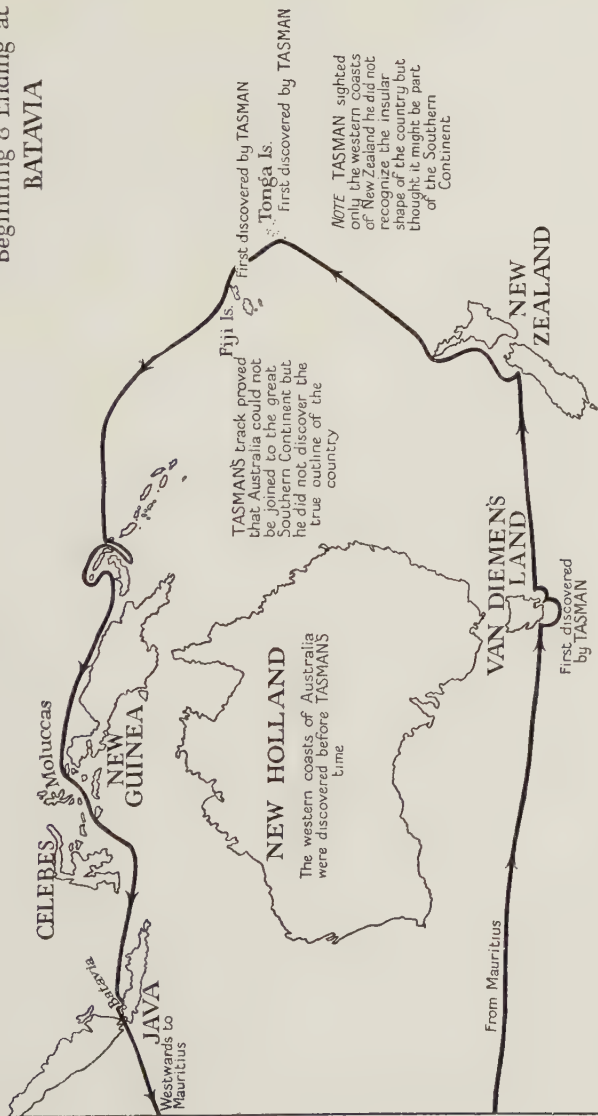
The chance of such employment came in 1768. The Seven Years' War appeared to have decided the long struggle for the mastery of the Atlantic, and the much wider and more distant Pacific Ocean began to attract the attention of explorers and their governments. The probing of the Pacific was an enterprise long overdue. Since the year 1520, when Ferdinand Magellan had first crossed it from east to west, it had been known to be of vast extent. But successive navigators had tended to follow in one another's tracks, and between them they had only revealed a very narrow belt of its area. All the rest was unknown, and might contain anything—islands, kingdoms, or continents; there was room in its uncharted wastes for a new world larger than the whole of Europe to exist unsuspected by the rest of mankind. One great navigator of the seventeenth century had discovered enough to excite further curiosity—Abel Tasman, the Dutchman. He had traced the western and southern coasts of Australia, and had sighted another land which he called New Zealand. But of its size and shape the world was still ignorant, and most people were inclined to guess that it must be part of a great southern continent stretching away

TASMAN'S VOYAGE

1642 - 43

Beginning & Ending at

BATAVIA



for thousands of miles to the South Pole. The Pacific in Cook's day was therefore the last great field for the sea explorer—a fairy world, in which the imagination could picture what it pleased. Readers of *Gulliver's Travels* will know what Swift's imagination made of it—his Lilliput of the pygmies, his Brobdingnag of the giants, and his flying island of Laputa peopled by scientists run mad ; all these he could place in the Pacific, and no man could say him nay. And now James Cook was to be sent to penetrate the mystery.

Both the French and British Governments had already dispatched expeditions to explore the Pacific, but their commanders had been content to follow the known trails and had discovered very little that was new. In 1769 a rare astronomical event was expected, the transit of the planet Venus across the face of the Sun. Scientific men were anxious to extend their knowledge by making full observations, and their calculations revealed the fact that one of the points from which this could be done was the island of Tahiti, already discovered in the Pacific. The Royal Society, the leading scientific body of England, therefore arranged with the Government to send out an expedition to observe the transit of Venus at Tahiti, and then to penetrate the unknown recesses of the ocean. Sir Joseph Banks and Dr. Solander were appointed to head the scientific party, but a first-class seaman and navigator was wanted for the chief command ; and for this duty the choice fell upon Cook. On 25th May 1768 he received his first commission as a Lieutenant of the Royal Navy, and began to make ready the ship *Endeavour* for the voyage.

In August 1768 the *Endeavour* sailed from Plymouth, rounding Cape Horn, and passing westwards to Tahiti. There Cook landed his men of science in good time to observe the transit in June 1769. That accomplished, he was able to proceed to his own discoveries. His first move was to New Zealand, concerning which practically nothing was then known. He spent six months in a thorough examination of

both islands, sailing completely round them, making an accurate chart, and proving that they were separate from the great southern continent, if such a thing existed. Thence in 1770 he went on to the eastern shores of Australia, which he called New South Wales. It was the most attractive part of the country, but no white men had hitherto explored it. Sir Joseph Banks bestowed the name of Botany Bay upon one inlet, because of the variety of plants and flowers seen there. He was enthusiastic about the country and formed a plan, which bore fruit in after years, of planting an English colony upon its coast. Cook seems not to have thought so much of the importance of the discovery. As a seaman he was more concerned with the difficulties of the navigation, and as they proceeded northwards up the eastern shore these became very great.



A New Zealander of Cook's time. The Maoris were savage but very intelligent, and quickly copied European methods of fighting.

For hundreds of miles the Great Barrier Reef runs parallel to the Australian coast, barring approach except through a few openings, and threatening destruction to any ship which draws near. Cook at once saw that his duty was not to run away from this peril, but to examine it and make a careful chart for the benefit of others. The task very nearly cost the lives of all concerned. At one point, which

they called Cape Tribulation, the *Endeavour* struck the rocks with shattering force. For twenty-three hours she remained fast. When she was finally warped off it seemed that she must sink, for a rent had been torn in her planking, and the water came in faster than all hands could pump it out. One of the crew now suggested a device called 'fothering', which he had seen in use in a similar emergency, and Cook gave orders to try it. A sail was spread on deck, and bunches of oakum were sewn upon it; then it was passed by means of ropes under the ship's bottom until it covered the point of damage. The inrush of water sucked the loose material into the crevices, and at once the leak was stopped. Afterwards, of course, it was necessary to beach the ship at the first opportunity in order to make a permanent repair. Still the Barrier Reef plotted the *Endeavour's* destruction. Some time after the above incident she was sailing cautiously up the outside of the line of rocks when the wind died away to a dead calm and the swell of the great Pacific waves set her steadily in towards the jagged wall. The water was too deep for the anchors to touch bottom, and the ship's boats tried in vain to tow her off. At last, when she was within a hundred yards of the crash—the breadth of one valley between the crests of the great waves—she came abreast of an opening in the reef through which she was towed to safety. It is no wonder that Cook thought his charting of this reef was a more important piece of work than his discovery of the smiling shores of Botany Bay.

After rounding the northern point of what is now Queensland, the expedition passed between Australia and New Guinea, proving clearly that they were separate countries. The fact had been discovered long before by the Spaniard Torres, but it had not been published, and was only vaguely suspected to be true. Then, after a visit to the Dutch East Indies, Cook sailed home by the Cape of Good Hope, having encircled the world in a three years' voyage. He reached the English Channel in June 1771.

From our point of view at the present day this first voyage of Cook's is the most important of the series, for in it he revealed to his countrymen the eastern and richer parts of Australia and the pleasant coasts of New Zealand. But at the time of his return we appeared to have all we wanted of colonies in America, and there was no immediate keenness to make settlements in the new lands of the south. What seemed more urgent was the clearing-up of the great mystery of the southern continent, which had haunted the minds of men for two centuries. Most geographers believed in it, and it is shown in many old maps of the world. There was an idea that there must be a great land-mass in the southern hemisphere to balance the known mass of the northern, or that otherwise the world would in some way be unstable. The Government, therefore, impressed with Cook's talents as a commander, appointed him to sail on another long voyage in 1772 to find the southern continent or to prove conclusively that it did not exist.

There was one matter on which Cook was not satisfied with the success of his first expedition. That concerned the health of his crew. In his three years' wandering he had lost 30 men by sickness out of 85 who had sailed. Such a mortality was reckoned very moderate in those days, when scurvy attacked almost every seaman on every long passage. But Cook thought scurvy might be a preventable disease, and he determined to conquer it if he could. So on his second voyage he took large stores of fruit juices and vegetable juices and various other remedies to counteract the effects of the salt meat which his men might have to eat for months at a stretch. These measures had a surprising success, as we shall see later on.

He sailed from Plymouth in July 1772, with two ships, the *Resolution* commanded by himself, and the *Adventure* under Tobias Furneaux. This time he went down to the Cape of Good Hope and thence southwards into the unknown waste of waters which might contain the great continent

In January 1773—the height of the southern summer—he crossed the Antarctic Circle and sighted the great wall of ice which lies for ever round the Polar region. He followed the ice barrier eastwards so long as the summer lasted, and then steered northwards into the warmer climates of the Pacific for the winter. In October, as the second summer was beginning, he lost sight of the *Adventure*, which returned home separately without making notable discoveries. But Cook determined that the *Resolution* should justify her name. In two more summer seasons he completed his circuit of the ice barrier, sweeping the high latitudes effectively and proving that no great land could exist therein. Then, in July 1775 he returned to England with the definite report that there was no southern continent. It was a negative conclusion, which may have been something of a disappointment. But he had something else to reveal which has saved untold misery to later generations. In this three years' contest with the wildest seas in the world, alternating with the sickly heat of the tropics, he had lost by disease one man alone of a crew of 118. From that time the conquest of scurvy was assured, and the sea robbed of its greatest terror. The Government promoted Cook to be a captain of the Navy, whilst the Royal Society made him a Fellow, the highest scientific honour in our country, and conferred on him a gold medal for his services.

The Pacific had still one problem of the first importance to be solved. Was there a sea passage between it and the Atlantic round the north of America? Ever since the days of John Cabot this question had puzzled mankind, and it had never yet received a definite answer. Many explorers had made attempts to find the passage from the Atlantic side, and none had yet pushed farther to the North-West than the waters of Hudson's Bay. Drake in his great voyage round the world had thought for a moment of seeking the passage from the Pacific side; but he had not been equipped for Arctic work, and soon gave up the attempt. When

France gave up Canada by the Treaty of Paris in 1763, the western shores of the continent became of interest to the British Government, for they were now likely to become British property, although as yet little was known about them. These were the reasons which determined the Government to send Captain Cook once more into the Pacific upon what was fated to be the last of his expeditions.

In the summer of 1776 he sailed with his former ship, the *Resolution*, and another named the *Discovery*. He reached



The sailing of the *Resolution* and *Adventure* on Captain Cook's second voyage, 1772.

the Pacific by way of the Cape of Good Hope and the Indian Ocean. After touching at Van Diemen's Land he spent the year 1777 in examining and charting various island groups. Then he crossed the Equator northwards, and early in 1778 discovered the Sandwich Islands in the North Pacific. He named the group after Lord Sandwich, the First Lord of the Admiralty, and considered them the most important discovery he had made. It is curious that New South Wales, with which Cook was not much impressed, became the nucleus of a great British dominion, whilst the Government never even attempted to take possession of the Sandwich Islands, which have now passed under the flag of the United States. But the pioneers of the old school, of whom we may

regard Cook as the last representative, generally thought more of islands than of continents, because they were so much more easy to conquer and control.

From the Sandwich Islands Cook stretched over to the mainland of North America. He reached it in latitude 45° N., about the highest point attained by Drake two centuries before. Thence the expedition pushed steadily up the coast, making, as was ever Cook's way, accurate surveys and records of what they saw. By the end of August they had passed up through the strait separating Asia from America, and found the coast turning towards the east and the Atlantic. Here should have been the beginning of the North-West Passage, had it ever been open; but the masses of floating ice showed that, however possible the passage might theoretically be, it could never be a channel for regular trade. At Icy Cape the ships were obliged to turn back and seek warmer waters for the approaching winter.

Cook steered southwards for the Sandwich Islands, to rest his crews and refit his ships. The natives at first welcomed him heartily, as they had done at the original discovery in the previous year. But, like most savages, they were changeable, and quickly grew tired of a novelty. Also they began to show a mischievous and thievish spirit, swarming on board the ships and laying hands on anything which took their fancy. When they at last carried off a ship's boat and refused to give it up, Cook was greatly enraged. Although calm and patient in wrestling with the forces of nature, he had always been rather hasty and passionate in his dealings with savages; it was the one fault in his character. On this occasion he went ashore at Hawaii (or Owhyhee, as the English then called it) with a few men to demand restitution of his boat. The boat was not forthcoming, and Cook attempted to arrest the native king and carry him on board ship. At once a tumult arose, and hundreds of angry warriors surrounded the Englishman. Seeing that there was nothing to be done, he turned to walk through the mob to the shore. As he

reached it a savage clubbed him from behind, whilst another stabbed him, and the whole crowd beat him to death as his body lay partly in the water and partly on the land. It was 14th February, 1779.

With Cook's discoveries it may be said that the ship completed the conquest of the ocean. He was the last of the long



Portrait of A MAN of the SANDWICH ISLANDS with his HEADDRESS



A YOUNG WOMAN of the SANDWICH ISLANDS

Natives of the Sandwich Islands, discovered in 1778.

From a contemporary account of Cook's voyages.

line of explorers beginning with Columbus and Cabot and Vasco da Gama, and he finished their work of tracing out the main outlines of land and sea upon the surface of the globe. Since then there has been much filling in of details by sea, but the work of the great discoverers has lain chiefly in the interiors of the continents or upon the hard surface of the Polar ice. Cook was the last for whom there were long new coast-lines to be surveyed from the decks of a ship, and it was the greatness of his achievements which left little more for others to do.

But of another series of pioneers he was the first—of the founders of the modern British Empire which has arisen since the independence of the United States. While he was away on his last voyage, Burgoyne surrendered at Saratoga, and two years after his death Cornwallis surrendered at Yorktown. The old Empire fell in pieces, but the instinct for expansion remained. Sir Joseph Banks had never forgotten New South Wales. He urged the Government to take possession, and in 1788 Captain Arthur Phillip landed at Sydney to lay the foundation of the Commonwealth of Australia. It was less than ten years after Cook's death, and it was very directly a sequel to his life's work.



The Death of Captain Cook, 14th February, 1779.



V

THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY

and the Expansion of British India

WHEN Clive left India for the last time, his countrymen were in control of some important areas, the greatest being the province of Bengal. This power was in the hands of the East India Company, whose servants were well accustomed to trade and fighting, but knew very little of the art of governing native populations. It was the unfitness of the Company for its new duties which had been the cause of all the abuses Clive had been called upon to put down. In 1773-4 the British Government, then under Lord North, decided that the time had come to modify the Company's powers. North therefore passed the Regulating Act to divide the control of India between Parliament and the Company. A new office, that of Governor-General, was created, its holder being appointed by Parliament, but remaining a servant of the Company. The first Governor-General was Warren Hastings, who had already distinguished himself by his honesty and devotion to duty in a period of general corruption.

Warren Hastings soon found his position a difficult one. He had to satisfy two masters, the Home Government and the Company. He had also to work with a Council of four members, not of his own choosing, any three of whom could interfere with his policy and forbid outright any course of

action he might decide upon. And Parliament, under the guidance of Lord North, committed the folly of appointing three men to the Council who were declared enemies of the Governor-General. Five years of confusion resulted, until death removed two of these councillors, and Hastings disposed of the third, Philip Francis, by challenging him to a duel. They fought with pistols, Francis being so severely wounded that he had to return home to recover his health. After this the Government saw the wisdom of giving Hastings more manageable assistants.

It was high time, for a great peril was threatening British India. France declared war against England in 1778 in support of the American colonists, and the French hoped not only to help the United States to independence but also to conquer British possessions for themselves. A French army therefore sailed for India, and French agents stirred up two native powers against the British. These were the Marathas of Central India, and Mysore, a strong state in the south, ruled by a soldier of fortune named Hyder Ali. The Marathas, although warlike, were disunited, and Hyder Ali proved the more formidable enemy. He invaded the Carnatic and ravaged the country up to the gates of Madras. Hastings sent what help he could from Bengal, and Sir Eyre Coote, the veteran of Plassey and Wandewash, defeated the invaders at Porto Novo. Fortunately, the French were late, and Hyder Ali died before their arrival. Had they joined forces with him they might easily have overthrown British power in Southern India. As it was, there had been a narrow escape from disaster, a result due to the coolness and statesmanship of Warren Hastings.

Hastings returned to England in 1785. He had deserved well of his country but, like Clive, he had made enemies who were bent upon his ruin. Chief among them was Philip Francis, who had obtained a knighthood and high favour at home. Francis persuaded some really good men, Edmund Burke among them, that Hastings had been guilty of atrocious

tyranny in India. His impeachment was therefore undertaken. Impeachment is a trial before Parliament, in which the House of Lords sit as judges upon accusations brought by the Commons. In the case of Hastings it was a lengthy business, lasting seven years. In the end Hastings was acquitted, as he deserved to be, for although Burke prosecuted him in good faith, believing in the charges, the real motive force was private malice, and Hastings had in fact been a more humane ruler than India had yet seen.

North's Regulating Act had not been a success ; it placed the Governor-General too much at the mercy of his Council. In 1784 William Pitt (the younger) passed a new India Act, revising the former arrangements. Under Pitt's Act the Governor-General enjoyed full powers in India, his Council existing to advise but not to control him. At home also a new department of government was created to deal with Indian policy and send instructions to the Governor-General. It was called the Board of Control, and at its head was a Secretary of State. The directors of the Company still managed all the trade, and appointed all the officials below those of the highest rank. This system endured until the life of the Company came to an end in 1858, after the great Mutiny.

It was not the desire, either of the British Government or of the Company, to make conquests in India. The conquests were always the work of the man on the spot, and his superiors at home generally disapproved of his action. After Warren Hastings, the next two Governors-General, Lord Cornwallis and Sir John Shore, received very strict orders on this point. Nevertheless, Cornwallis was obliged in 1791 to make war on Tipu Sultan, who had succeeded Hyder Ali in Mysore. Tipu was defeated and lost some territory, for which he vowed revenge upon the British. The events of the next few years seemed to offer him his chance. War broke out between England and the French revolutionaries in 1793, and at once Frenchmen became active in India. French officers appeared at the courts of the native princes and offered to

drill their armies in European fashion. Napoleon Bonaparte led an expedition to Egypt in 1798, intending to make that country a base for a further move upon India. Bourbon and Mauritius, French islands in the Indian Ocean, became nests of privateers operating against British Indian trade. It was evident that another crisis was approaching.

British India needed the control of a man of first-class talent, and Pitt found such a man in Richard Colley Wellesley, Earl of Mornington, and afterwards Marquess Wellesley. Born in 1760, he was the elder brother of Arthur Wellesley, afterwards the great Duke of Wellington. His great qualities of mind and heart were recognized from his early years, and all his friends expected him to do something great; nor were they disappointed when he was allowed full scope in the Governor-Generalship of India.

He reached that country in 1798, and at once found pressing problems awaiting him. The British possessions were all on or near the coast-line—Bengal in the north-east occupying the basin and delta of the Ganges, the Circars with the city of Masulipatam on the east coast of central India, Madras



THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY

and Fort St. David each with its surrounding district on the east coast of the south, Bombay far away on the west coast. Besides these there were two large provinces ruled by native princes partially under British supervision—Oudh, lying north-west of Bengal, and the Carnatic, the scene of Clive's early wars, surrounding and overlapping Madras and Fort St. David. Together these accounted for only a small fraction of the soil of India. It is a mistake to think that Clive and his followers had conquered India. What they had done was to break the French power and make a subsequent conquest possible. By far the greater part of the country was still under independent princes with strong armies, and it was with these that Wellesley was the first to challenge a serious trial of strength. There were three chief native powers in contact with the British—Mysore in the south, ruled by Tipu Sultan ; Hyderabad, in the centre, ruled by the Nizam ; and northward still the great belt of the Maratha States, stretching right across India from Bombay to the borders of Bengal. In the distant north-west the Afghans were strong, but they were as yet remote from the British sphere, and do not come into the story until a later period.

Wellesley saw that French adventurers and native armies formed a dangerous mixture which would certainly explode sooner or later. He knew also that Napoleon was in Egypt and might find means to ship an expedition upon the waters of the Indian Ocean. He determined therefore to disperse the native forces before the French element grew stronger. The Nizam had 14,000 troops with French generals. Wellesley gave him the choice either to dismiss them or fight. The Nizam yielded without a struggle, agreeing to pay the East India Company for defence by its own forces in case of need. This was known as a subsidiary alliance, the first of many such.

It was Tipu Sultan's turn next. He, although a savage tyrant, was a fighting man who would not submit to mere threats. He was confident of his own strength and confident

also of French help. So enamoured was he of his republican friends in Paris that he styled himself ' Citizen Tipu ', although one may doubt if he knew what the word meant. France, however, could do nothing for him. Nelson's victory of the Nile had cut off Napoleon's army in Egypt, and that army, far from attacking India, had itself to surrender a year or two later. Wellesley acted with unsparing promptitude. In February 1799, he set two armies in motion to invade Mysore from opposite sides. They brushed away all resistance and converged in a few weeks upon Seringapatam, the capital. After a brief siege they stormed the place on 4th April. Tipu in person defended the breach, and a private soldier shot him as the stormers poured through. Wellesley annexed all the outlying regions of Mysore and reduced the remainder to the position of a subsidiary State, restoring to the throne the Hindu Raja whom Hyder Ali had deposed years before. These events firmly established British power in southern India. Their benefit to the native inhabitants was undoubted. Before the conquest large parts of Mysore had been reduced by misrule to a desert. Afterwards the population increased, and Arthur Wellesley, brother of the Governor-General, remarked that the waste places were beginning to blossom like a garden.

This indeed is the defence of Wellesley's policy, that his wars were wars to attain peace, and that the good of the people was ever in his mind. It is one of those half-truths which conceal an enormous lie to say that the British have conquered the peoples of India. What they have done in nearly every case has been to conquer tyrants, who have seized power over helpless peoples unable to defend themselves ; and the behaviour of those tyrants has been sufficient justification for their overthrow. Tipu Sultan and his father Hyder Ali were soldiers of fortune from the north-west ; so also were the Nawabs of Bengal, whose rule ended at Plassey. None of them had any right to their thrones other than the right of the strong, and their trembling subjects were heartily

glad to see the last of them. Wellesley himself was a philanthropist, a hater of slavery, and a promoter of all kinds of reform. He never had any doubt that the substitution of British rule for the sway of these irresponsible tyrants was a reform of the first magnitude.

After the war with Mysore another tyranny engaged his attention, that of the Nawabs of the Carnatic. It will be remembered that Clive's wars against Dupleix had resulted in placing on the throne Mohammed Ali, the claimant favoured by the British. This man and his descendants had since ruled the country under British protection. That is to say, British forces were available to defend them against their enemies or against their own subjects, but there was no British interference with their methods of government. The system was bad for the native princes. They had power without responsibility, and, secure under British defence, they lost all energy and sense of justice. In the Carnatic the worst feature was extravagance. The Nawabs raised huge loans from European adventurers, some of them the Company's own servants, and allotted districts as security. The whole country was thus ground down by tax collectors extorting money to pay foreign creditors, and the condition of the inhabitants became miserable. Lord Cornwallis had seen the evil, but had failed to remedy it. Wellesley decided that the rule of the Nawabs must end. He detected the last holder of the office in a treasonable correspondence with Tipu Sultan, and made this the occasion for deposing the whole family in 1801. They retired on a substantial pension, whilst the Carnatic lands became part of the Madras Presidency.

In the same year Wellesley dealt in similar fashion, but less thoroughly, with Oudh. There the same conditions prevailed, with the added abuse of a disorderly native army, existing rather to plunder than to defend the people. The Nawab was feeble and wasteful, and allowed a horde of disreputable characters, European as well as native, to prey upon the country, he himself having little to fear because

the Company was bound by treaty to assist him in time of need. Wellesley saw that annexation was the only remedy, but his employers in England were alarmed at the growth of their responsibilities, and could not be trusted to approve. So with Oudh Wellesley had to compromise. He annexed the outlying regions, leaving the centre still under the Nawab.



The Bow to the Throne - alias - The Begging Bow.

Publ. May 6. 1798, by S.W. Pears, N. 3 Piccadilly

New man man, sat. 1798, by S.W. Pears

British trade and expansion in India. Gillray's sarcastic cartoon of 1798 shows the King and Queen and dignitaries of Church and State scrambling for Indian rupees which Warren Hastings purveys.

There were promises of better conduct, but they were never kept, and half a century afterwards another British Governor-General had to finish the work by putting an end to a rule which he described as an offence in the eyes of God and man.

Two other small provinces were annexed by Wellesley at this period, Tanjore on the south-east coast, and Surat on the west. In each the majority of the inhabitants were well content to come under British rule.

No sooner were these arrangements completed than Wellesley found himself challenged by the Marathas, hitherto the masters of Central India. The Marathas did not constitute a single State. They were rather a confederation of armies commanded by chiefs who held office by hereditary right, the commands descending from father to son in the several families. The most important of these chieftains were Sindhia, Bhonsla, and Holkar, with many others subordinate to them. They possessed home lands of their own, but in addition they raided far and wide over India, plundering their neighbours or levying tribute upon them. It can be understood that in a country crowded with soldiers of fortune of all races and religions the Maratha chieftains did not lack followers, especially as they were nearly always successful in their blackmailing of the peaceable and industrious peoples surrounding them. Wellesley rightly judged that India would never settle down until these disorderly adventurers had been tamed, and when circumstances forced on a conflict he was quite ready to do his part.

At the close of 1802 the Peshwa of Poona, once the head of the Maratha alliance, but now sunk to a feeble position as compared with the other chiefs, quarrelled with his neighbours and fled to the British at Bombay for protection. With them he signed a subsidiary treaty, that is to say, he undertook to pay a sum of money for defence by the Company's troops. The treaty gave the British a right of entry into the Maratha country, and at once the other chiefs took alarm. Sindhia and Bhonsla declared war in 1803. Wellesley quickly moved his own forces into position to deal with them. Since his conquest of Mysore he had been very popular with the troops, native and British, especially as he had declined to take the large share of the spoil which would have fallen to him. He was not, however, a professional soldier, and the British forces were therefore placed under his brother, now General Arthur Wellesley, and under General Lake.

The Marathas had in times past owed their conquests over



Pratt

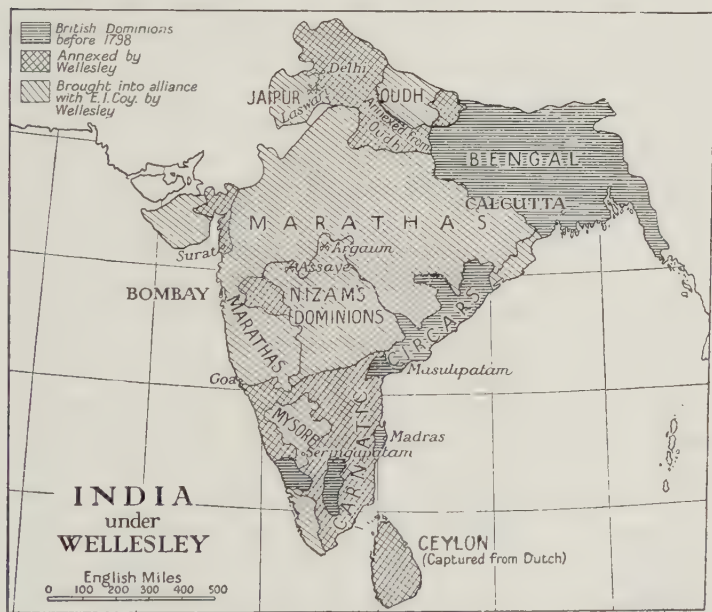
Indian warfare in the early 19th century. From a print in the United Services Museum.

unwarlike neighbours to their thousands of horsemen, irregulars without much discipline, but excellent scouts and foragers, individually brave and able to look after themselves and their mounts. These troops had spread themselves over the country like a swarm of locusts, living on the enemy's supplies, and if defeated difficult to hunt down. Such an army had not been good for a pitched battle against steady foes, but in a guerrilla warfare it had been hard to subdue. But of late years the Sindhia and Bhonsla princes had been more ambitious. They had enlisted numbers of Frenchmen and had employed them to train infantry and gunners in the European style. With these new forces, strong in numbers and well armed, they hoped to win in regular fighting against the Company's army.

General Wellesley took command of the operations in the southern Maratha country, in the region known as the Deccan, whilst General Lake undertook the conquest of the northern region round Delhi. Wellesley, the future conqueror of Napoleon, moved rapidly and skilfully. He captured strong fortresses, and on 23rd September, 1803, brought Sindhia to action at Assaye. He had only 8,000 men, the majority Indian troops, against 50,000 Marathas. Forging a river in face of the enemy, he attacked with the utmost vigour. It was no easy victory after a distant cannonade as at Plassey. The Marathas stood firm, and their numerous guns, served as efficiently as Europeans could have done it, silenced the few English pieces. But the British and Indian infantry were not to be denied. They bit deep into the Maratha line, and the cavalry charged at the critical moment. After great slaughter on both sides the Marathas quitted the field, leaving all their guns and ammunition in the hands of the victors. The Iron Duke has often been considered a hard man, careless of anything but the end in view. But on this occasion he hampered his own movements after the victory in order to convey his wounded to a place where they could be taken care of.

The blow of Assaye had knocked all the fighting spirit out

of Sindhia. He began to talk of peace, whilst two months later another Maratha force, chiefly composed of Bhonsla's men, suffered a like defeat at Argaum. In the north the event of the war was similar. Lake took Delhi and Agra, and won a final pitched battle at Laswari. Treaties signed at the end of the year transferred to the Company the Delhi region



from Sindhia, the coast province of Orissa from Bhonsla, and certain other districts. These princes had also to sign a modified form of the subsidiary alliance.

The reputation of the Marquess Wellesley had now reached its highest point. He had made the Company the paramount power in India, a position which none of the native sovereigns would have acknowledged before his arrival. The credit was largely his own. In the great matters of state he had known his own mind and had struck hard at the right time. But

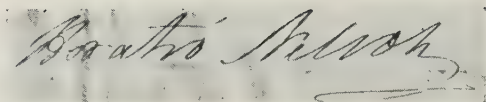
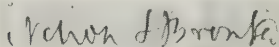
he had owed much to the valour and good fortune of his soldiers, without which his wars might have taken years instead of months to reach a decision. At the same time he was becoming more and more at odds with the directors of the Company at home. They disliked his policy of conquest, for it was effecting what they always dreaded—the transformation of a rich trading monopoly into a political Empire in which the chief interest would be the government of India's millions. The directors foresaw that in this matter of government they were sure to be thrust into the background; it would be chiefly a care of the statesmen at home and the Governor-General in India. On the commercial side, also, Wellesley held opinions contrary to theirs. He was a free trader, and would have been pleased to see India thrown open to all British merchants and the directors' monopoly broken. Hence their resentment against the man who was bringing these changes about. They criticized all his policies, and hinted that in making appointments he was favouring his own family unfairly.

Wellesley's position was therefore an uncertain one, in which the first misfortune would give his enemies a chance to overthrow him. The misfortune came in 1804. Holkar, the third great Maratha chief, had not taken part in the war of the previous year, having been on bad terms with Sindhia and Bhonsla. But no sooner had they been beaten than he became alarmed for himself and took up arms against the British. Holkar's army was of the old Maratha type, strong in its cavalry rather than in disciplined infantry, and for this reason it proved less easy to defeat. A British column under Colonel Monson made a rash advance in 1804, and found itself cut off from supplies and surrounded by swarms of irregular horsemen. Monson had to retreat, and his retreat became a rout, a disgrace to the British arms which went far to wipe out their former successes. The defeat, it is true, was only for the moment, for Wellesley took energetic measures which brought Holkar to his knees in 1805. But at home

the damage had been done. The directors, on hearing of Monson's defeat, censured the Governor-General and insisted upon stopping the war at once. The orders were too positive to be evaded. The Marathas were given a fresh lease of power, wherewith to fight another day, and in the summer of 1805 Wellesley left India in disgust.

He had done a great work, beginning the creation of a dominion which was to stop only at the Himalayas and the Afghan mountains. To the old ideal of the Company—that of a profitable trade—he had added another, that of England's duty to make India a land of order and fair play. He foresaw that the new duty would be much more difficult than the old, and would demand men of higher character and education. For this reason he pressed the directors to adopt a scheme of training for their servants, so that they might become good administrators rather than mere traders. The directors would not listen at the time, but afterwards they saw that the counsel was good, and established a college which supplied India with civil servants until the days when such posts were thrown open to public competition.

Wellesley enjoyed a long career after his return from India. In 1806-8 his enemies moved against him in Parliament, attempting to have him impeached like Warren Hastings; but the plot failed miserably, as it deserved to do. Afterwards he served the State as ambassador to Spain, as a Cabinet Minister, and as Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. He was always an enemy of abuses and a supporter of moderate and sensible reforms. He died in 1842 at the age of eighty-two. His great brother, the Duke of Wellington, outlived him by ten years.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "Horatio Nelson". The script is cursive and elegant, with a long, sweeping underline.A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "Nelson I. Bronte". The script is cursive and somewhat less formal than the one above.

VI. NELSON

THROUGHOUT the history of the Empire the Navy has ever filled a leading place. It has been the indispensable force without which all other activities would have been of no avail—at once defending the shores of the mother country, keeping up communication with the colonies, and carrying British expeditions to new conquests. To take an example or two from the events with which this book has already dealt, we may note that it was the Navy which enabled Wolfe to reach Louisbourg and Quebec in the Seven Years' War, and which prevented the French from sending aid to Montcalm or from attacking by sea any of the British colonies. And again, twenty years later, when the Navy had been allowed to decay in strength, it was the Empire which paid the penalty, for the French were allowed to blockade Cornwallis by sea at Yorktown, whilst Washington attacked him by land, and the loss of the American colonies was the result. Since those days we have been engaged in two great European wars—with the French revolutionaries and Napoleon from 1793 to 1815, and with Germany and her allies from 1914 to 1918—and in each of them the Navy has stood between England and her would-be invaders, warding off that blow at the heart which the great military empires would fain have delivered. The Navy, then, is an Empire-building and Empire-preserving force, and in the roll of the makers of the Empire none is

NELSON'S SIGNATURES.—The upper one is from a letter dated 1796, the year before he lost his right hand at the action at Santa Cruz. The lower was written with his left hand in 1801.

entitled to a higher place than Nelson, the greatest Admiral our country has produced.

And it is not alone to the student of history that Nelson's career makes its appeal. It can yield inspiration to every man and boy who holds command, from the captain of a football team to the head of a government ; for under his



NELSON

leadership all did their best, and even better than their best, astonishing themselves by their own performances. Few men have had this genius for inspiring others in so great a measure as Nelson.

Horatio Nelson was born at Burnham Thorpe in Norfolk in 1758, and when little more than twelve years old was entered as a midshipman upon the books of the Royal Navy, in a ship commanded by his uncle, Captain Suckling. But it was a time of peace, when most of the ships were laid up

without crews, so that we find that Nelson's first voyage was in a merchantman to the West Indies. The trip lasted a year, and in it the boy learned his first practical seamanship. Afterwards he returned to the Navy and took part in an expedition to the Arctic for purposes of discovery in 1773. A good many stories are told about him in these early years, and one is worth repeating, because it has a moral for any small boy at school. Two other midshipmen, older than himself, attempted to ill-treat him, perhaps because they thought him conceited. But he picked up a capstan bar and swung it so fiercely around that they decided that their game was not worth the price of a cracked shin, and left him alone.

At the close of 1773 Nelson, still a midshipman, sailed on a three years' voyage to the Indian Ocean. On his return he was made a lieutenant, and soon afterwards went to the West Indies. There he became a captain, and for the first time commanded a small vessel of his own. A great war was now in progress—Britain against the Americans, the French, the Spaniards, and the Dutch—but Nelson's only fighting service was on land. He took part in an expedition to seize the Spanish colony of Nicaragua. It failed because fevers killed the greater part of the men employed, and nearly killed Nelson among them. He came back to England very ill, and took some time to recover. After the war he was again in the West Indies, where he distinguished himself by defying his superiors in the performance of what he considered to be his duty. The Navigation Acts at that time forbade foreigners to trade with English colonies. The Americans had become foreigners by the independence of the United States, but they wished to trade with the islands as they had done in the days when they had been British subjects. Nelson arrested their ships, although his commanding officer was ready to connive at the traffic. In Nelson's eyes the law of England was above all personal interests, and he braved a good deal of ill will by enforcing

it. After his West Indian service he had five years ashore, the only long period after his childhood which he ever spent in England. Then, in January 1793, as the news came that the head of Louis XVI had fallen under the guillotine, he was appointed to command the battleship *Agamemnon* in the war which was to occupy the remainder of his life.

It is difficult in these days to enter into the feelings of horror and disgust which the French Revolution excited in the minds of most Englishmen. We are accustomed to see it in a halo of romance, wherein valiant men overthrow tyrants and defy the world, marching from victory to victory to the soul-stirring measure of the 'Marseillaise', and at last finding in Napoleon a leader like the gods of old, whose glamour still casts its spell over the minds of men. Our forefathers viewed the matter differently. To them the Revolution was the desecration of all they held most sacred, of religion, the throne, gentle birth and good breeding and the rights of property, and all by the hands of the most degraded scoundrels who have ever pushed to the forefront of the stage of history. We had had many a war with the old France of the monarchy, but always the antagonists had respected and even admired one another. The English squire and the French seigneur had fought like gentlemen, with a due regard to the courtesies of the game, and in the intervals of peace they had visited one another's countries and adopted one another's manners and customs. But this Revolutionary War was different. The enemy was now a being whom one could scarcely call human. He was hated and loathed as were the Germans in 1914, and beneath it all was the cold fear that if he should win it would be good-bye to all the things which Englishmen held dear. That was the average man's feeling, and Nelson shared it to the full. On his genius it acted as a spur to sublime achievement.

Nelson's *Agamemnon* was one of the ships sent to serve under Lord Hood in the Mediterranean. In 1794 the royalists of Toulon revolted against the revolutionary government,

and handed over the port to the British and Spanish fleets. But when the revolutionary armies closed round the place it proved untenable, and Napoleon Bonaparte won his spurs by cannonading the allies out of it. Before leaving, Hood attempted to destroy the French warships in the harbour. Some were burnt, but in the confusion many were left unharmed, and these were the ships which Nelson was to fight four years afterwards at the Battle of the Nile. He himself had not been present at Toulon, having been sent on special service to the island of Corsica. There he took part in the capture of Calvi, where a cannon ball dashed some sand into his face and caused him to lose the sight of his right eye.

Soon after this Lord Hood was replaced by Admiral Hotham, an irresolute commander against whose feebleness Nelson chafed a good deal. This was particularly seen in a fight with the French fleet in the Gulf of Genoa. Nelson engaged the enemy boldly, and it was by his exertions that two French ships were taken. He claimed that by vigorous action the whole enemy fleet would have been destroyed. But Hotham could not make up his mind to take the risk. His was a defensive nature, thinking more of preserving his own ships than of capturing the enemy's. 'We must be contented,' he said in reply to Nelson's urgings; 'we have done very well.' Nelson's comment was, 'Had we taken ten sail, and had allowed the eleventh to escape, I could never have called it well done.' Nor was this a mere piece of fine talk, for the man who uttered it never hesitated to act upon his maxim whenever he got the chance.

In 1796 Spain deserted the English alliance and went over to the French, and the British fleet was obliged to leave the Mediterranean. At the same time the *Agamemnon* after nearly four years at sea had to be sent home for repairs, and Nelson was appointed to a larger ship. He was very loath to quit the *Agamemnon*. Whilst in command of her he had established a record for a happy and well-disciplined crew. The seamen of those days were generally discontented,



Nelson's quarry : a French ship of the line. From the
Encyclopédie Méthodique Marine.

and they had good reason to be, for dishonest officials defrauded them of their pay and their food, and they were subject to barbarous punishments for every offence. These grievances produced the great mutiny of 1797, when for several weeks the home fleet refused duty whilst the country was in peril. Among Nelson's crew there was nothing of this feeling. He was popular, but not because he gave them an easy time. In everything which made for fighting efficiency he was more exacting than most officers. But he looked after his men's health, saw that they got their rations and their money, and refrained from meaningless parades and ceremonials which irritated all who took part in them. Above all he created the right spirit. Under him men did their duty because they took a pride in doing it, and many a flogging was thereby saved. It was better that public opinion should denounce the slacker than that he should stand bareheaded before the captain's table. It was something of a new tradition in the rather brutal eighteenth century, but it was never afterwards entirely lost. It was the spirit of the Territorials of 1914.

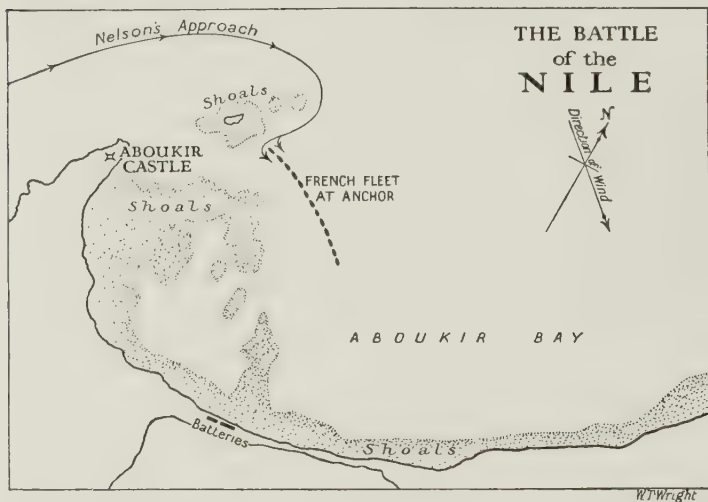
The opening of the year 1797 was an anxious time for England. Her allies were dropping away one by one, she had to face not only the fleets of France but those of Spain and Holland, and Ireland was preparing to stab her in the back by rebelling while she faced her greater enemies. Invasion and conquest would certainly have been possible that year had not the Navy risen to the occasion. On 14th February, Admiral Sir John Jervis, cruising off Cape St. Vincent, sighted the Spanish fleet making northwards to join the French at Brest. Jervis had with him fifteen ships of the line, and the Spaniards twenty-seven, but he knew that he must keep them at all costs from reaching the Narrow Seas. Nelson, who was with him, was eager to fight. He had known the Spanish officers as allies and had recently fought them as enemies, and he did not think they were competent seamen.

Jervis accordingly attacked the Spaniards, manœuvring to separate their fleet into two divisions and beat one before the other could come up. The movement was only partially successful, and it seemed as though the Spaniards would get away without being brought to close action at all. But Nelson, in the rear of the English fleet, saw what was wanted, and did it without waiting for orders. He turned out of his position in the line, where he would have had no chance of fighting, and attacked the nearest Spaniards, thus preventing their scattered fleet from getting together. Other captains followed his example, and the result was the capture of four Spanish ships and the flight of the remainder back to Cadiz. It was an act of moral as well as physical courage ; for many a captain had been court-martialled and disgraced for quitting the line in a battle, and if Nelson's bold move had failed that would very likely have been his own fate. As it was, he was knighted and promoted Rear-Admiral. Soon afterwards he had a stroke of ill luck. Jervis sent him to attack the Spanish shipping at Teneriffe, and in a night assault upon the port of Santa Cruz he was repulsed with the loss of many men and of his own right arm.

Next year, 1798, the Government received news that the French were preparing a great expedition, military as well as naval, at Toulon, and Nelson was sent with a fleet into the Mediterranean to take a hand in the game. The French kept their secret well, and no one knew whither their armament was bound. It was actually Bonaparte's plan for the conquest of Egypt, with a view to a further move upon India, but nothing was certainly known, although Nelson guessed that this might be the enemy's intention. The British fleet arrived near Toulon just as the French were about to sail, but a storm caused a delay for repairs, and the French expedition got away without being seen. It went slowly eastwards, taking Malta on its way, and landed Bonaparte's army on the shores of Egypt. The French Admiral then anchored his ships in Aboukir Bay. He seems not to have known that Nelson's

fleet was in chase of him. Nelson had bad luck in his pursuit. He passed the French without sighting them and reached Egypt first. Finding no enemy there he tried the Syrian coast, and heard that his quarry was at Aboukir Bay only after Bonaparte had already landed. Once he had certain news he lost no time in seeking a battle.

The Battle of the Nile was the first in which Nelson had the chief command, and it yielded the most complete victory



which had yet been known in our naval record. As the British approached they found their enemies anchored in a long line with the wind blowing straight down it from van to rear. Nelson at once attacked, although the day was far spent. He began at the head of the French formation, his own vessels passing on either side of it and 'sandwiching' ship after ship between two fires. As the French had no sails ready to set and the wind was against them, the rear end of their line had to look on helplessly while the van and the centre were crushed; then their own turn came. The battle went on all night, with the result that of thirteen

French battleships only two escaped, and these probably owed their good fortune to the fact that Nelson was put out of action by a wound in the head. Nine French ships were taken and one burnt, whilst the flagship, the great *Orient* of 120 guns, was blown to pieces by the firing of her magazine. Bonaparte's army in Egypt was cut off from France, and from that moment his eastern schemes withered away. Honours fell in showers upon the victor—an English peerage, an Italian dukedom, swords of honour, jewels, and pieces of



The Battle of the Nile. 1798.

Medal struck by A. Davison to celebrate the Battle of the Nile. It was paid for out of the profits of the prizes and given to all officers and men who took part. Medals were given only for exceptional actions in Nelson's time.

plate from English corporations and the sovereigns of Europe. It was the first decisive blow yet struck against the all-conquering power of revolutionary France.

The British fleet held the Mediterranean until in 1802 the Peace of Amiens made a short break in the war. In 1799 Bonaparte escaped from Egypt in a small vessel, leaving his army to its fate. It surrendered to a British force in 1801. He himself contrived to make the French people think he was not to blame. He became First Consul of France in 1799 and Emperor Napoleon in 1804. For Nelson there was yet more service waiting to be done. The northern powers

under the influence of Russia formed the Armed Neutrality to resist British domination at sea. On account of their threatening conduct the British Government decided to send a fleet to the Baltic. Sir Hyde Parker was in chief command with Nelson as his second. In April 1801 Nelson was sent to attack the Danish fleet and the forts of Copenhagen. The approach was through shallow channels obstructed by sandbanks, and a terrific fight took place before the city. Sir Hyde Parker, watching from without, thought that Nelson might be overpowered. He signalled permission to break off the action, but Nelson would have none of it. 'I have a right to be blind sometimes,' he said, and putting his telescope to his sightless eye he remarked, 'I really do not see the signal.' And with this cheery joke he went on until the Danes surrendered. After that the Armed Neutrality gave no further trouble.

The Peace of Amiens, lasting from 1802 to 1803, was a mere breathing space in what had now become a duel between England and Napoleon Bonaparte. There was no sincere reconciliation between the combatants, and after fifteen months the war began again over the disputed ownership of Malta. Napoleon announced that his chief object was the invasion of England itself. For that purpose he collected a great army at Boulogne, and made no doubt that once he could land it on the English shore the war would be over in a fortnight. But the crossing was the difficulty. The harbours of Boulogne and the neighbouring places were tidal. They were empty at low water, and therefore not suitable for the anchorage of large ships. The nearest French port which could shelter a battle fleet was at Brest on the Bay of Biscay. Here lay the greatest French squadron; another was at Rochefort, and a third at Toulon in the Mediterranean. At Boulogne Napoleon collected a large flotilla of minor craft with which to ferry his troops across the Channel. It could not be done whilst the British cruisers hovered off the coast—on every fine day their sails could be seen from the camp, and sometimes they came near enough to exchange shots

with the soldiers. To venture out under their guns would mean a massacre. At first Napoleon reckoned upon evading the cruisers. A fog might blind them or a storm scatter them. But practice attempts at embarking the army showed that several days would be necessary for the crossing, and the English blockade was never loosened for a sufficient time. Some other plan had to be devised.

The other plan was briefly this, that the various French fleets should put out from Toulon, Rochefort, and Brest, unite at some point in the Atlantic, and appear in one imposing array in the Channel, brushing away the British blockaders and giving the French Army its chance to cross. To aid in the scheme Napoleon induced Spain to declare war upon England and place her fleet at his disposal. For Napoleon's combination to succeed it would be necessary for the British admirals to act like complete fools, which he seems to have thought they were. Actually, they did not take the invasion very seriously—all they hoped from it was a chance of fighting the French on the open sea.

But among the landsmen in England there was great anxiety, and the Government took every measure to resist a landing. If made at all, it would probably be in Sussex or Kent, and accordingly Martello towers were built along the shores of those counties wherever there were no cliffs to form a natural barrier. The towers were the first line of defence, intended to delay an enemy landing until troops could be hurried up. On Romney Marsh, the most likely place, a great moat was dug from Hythe to Winchelsea, and filled with water. It still exists under the name of the Royal Military Canal, and was to have been the second line of resistance. To man these defences there were the regular army and the militia, and in addition able-bodied men of all classes hastened to enlist in volunteer regiments, the ancestors of the Territorials of to-day.

From the outbreak of the war the French ports were well watched. Lord Cornwallis blockaded Brest, other admirals looked after Rochefort and the Spanish harbours, and Nelson

was sent to the Mediterranean to keep an eye upon Toulon. Nelson had no great desire to keep the French in ; he wanted them to come out and be beaten. He therefore kept his fleet away from the port, watching it by means of frigates. Early in 1805 Napoleon gave the word for the great plan to be put in action. The French fleet from Rochefort broke out whilst its blockaders were driven off by a storm. It sailed for the West Indies, expecting to be found there by the others. But Villeneuve, commander of the Toulon fleet, which got out at the same time, had to put back to repair damages received in a gale, and the greatest of all the French fleets, that at Brest, was so closely watched that it could never escape at all. So far the plan was not working very well. Three months later Villeneuve made a second start from Toulon. He evaded Nelson and sailed out through the Strait of Gibraltar. When he reached the West Indies he found that his Rochefort comrades had not waited for him, but had already gone back to France. On Villeneuve, therefore, fell the whole duty of carrying out the great plan by clearing the Channel of its blockaders.

Nelson, meanwhile, was active. Napoleon appears to have calculated that, having lost Villeneuve, he would stay in the Mediterranean doing nothing. But Nelson was determined to follow his man to the ends of the earth. He pursued at a great pace to the West Indies, where the mere rumour of his presence sent the unhappy Villeneuve scuttling back to Europe. Meanwhile, swift English frigates had been busy carrying news, with the result that Villeneuve was met off Cape Finisterre by Sir Robert Calder with a smaller squadron. In the action which followed Calder took two ships, and Villeneuve put into the Spanish port of Vigo. Thence, with fresh instructions from Napoleon, he sailed for the mouth of the Channel. He knew he had the Channel fleet in front of him, and he guessed (rightly) that Nelson was not far behind. His heart failed him, and he turned back southwards, anchoring finally in Cadiz, where was also the bulk of the Spanish fleet. There for the moment we leave him.

I have not only to lament, in common with the British Navy, and the British Nation, in the Fall of the Commander in Chief, the loss of a Hero, whose name will be immortal, and his memory ever dear to his country; but my heart is rent with the most poignant grief for the death of a friend, to whom, by many years intimacy, and a perfect knowledge of the virtues of his mind, which inspired ideas superior to the common race of men, I was bound by the strongest ties of affection; a grief to which even the glorious occasion in which he fell, does not bring the consolation which, perhaps, it ought: his Lordship received a musket ball in his left breast, about the middle of the action, and sent an Officer to me immediately with his last farewell; and soon after expired.

I have also to lament the loss of those excellent Officers, Captains Duff, of the Mars, and Cooke, of the Bellerophon; I have yet heard of none others.

I fear the numbers that have fallen will be found very great, when the returns come to me; but it having blown a gale of wind ever since the action, I have not yet had it in my power to collect any reports from the ships.

The Royal Sovereign having lost her masts, except the tottering foremast, I called the Euryalus to me, while the action continued, which ship lying within hail, made my signals—a service Captain Blackwood performed with great attention: After the action, I shifted my flag to her, that I might more easily communicate any orders to, and collect the ships, and towed the Royal Sovereign out to Seaward. The whole fleet were now in a very perilous situation, many dismasted, all shattered, in thirteen fathom water, off the shoals of Trafalgar; and when I made the signal to prepare to anchor, few of the ships had an anchor to let go, their cables being shot; but the same good Providence which aided us through such a day preserved us in the night, by the wind shifting a few points, and drifting the ships off the land, except four of the captured dismasted ships, which are now at anchor off Trafalgar, and I hope will ride safe until those gales are over

Having thus detailed the proceedings of the fleet on this occasion, I beg to congratulate their Lordships on a victory which, I hope, will add a ray to the glory of his Majesty's crown, and be attended with public benefit to our country. I am, &c.

(Signed) C. COLLINGWOOD.

Facsimile of part of Collingwood's Trafalgar dispatch,
as printed in *The Times*, 1805.

Napoleon saw that the game was up. He broke up his camp at Boulogne and marched his armies against Austria. His grand scheme for fooling the British admirals, for leaving them scattered in bewilderment over the seas while he invaded England, had ended in failure. Its result was that all the English fleets had arrived at the critical point at the right time. None had done more to bring this about than Nelson, and upon him now fell the task of fighting the final battle. He passed a short month at home after returning from the West Indies. Then he sailed for the last time to take command of the fleet before Cadiz. As before, he kept well away from the coast in order to give Villeneuve every chance of coming out.

Villeneuve had no wish to come out, but at length Napoleon compelled him. The Emperor was now intent upon continental conquests, and he wanted the assistance of his fleet in the Mediterranean. On 20th October, Villeneuve, much against his better judgement, sailed from Cadiz and made for the Strait of Gibraltar. English frigates dogged his course, signalling to their battleships out of sight of the French below the westward horizon. Nelson had already explained to the captains his plan of attack, and when he decided on the morning of the 21st that the time had come there was little more to be said. With a very light wind the British fleet formed in two columns in line ahead, Nelson in the *Victory* leading the one, and Collingwood in the *Royal Sovereign* the other. Seeing their approach the Franco-Spanish fleet went about and sailed northwards in order to seek a refuge in Cadiz. Villeneuve's forces were in one long, straggling line, upon which the two English columns bore down at right angles. The wind almost died away, and the approach was intolerably slow. Nelson went down to his cabin, altered his will, and wrote a prayer for victory. Then, to express the idea which haunted his mind during these last hours, he hoisted the immortal signal, 'England expects that very man will do his duty.' Now the two columns came within range of the enemy, and the leading

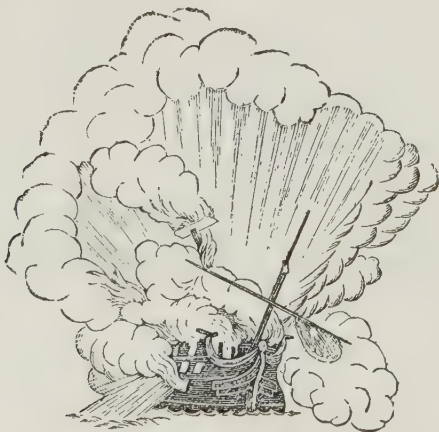


NELSON'S TOMB IN THE CRYPT OF ST. PAUL'S

ships suffered severely without being able to reply; the *Victory* lost fifty men before she herself had fired a shot.

A little after midday the *Royal Sovereign* burst through the enemy's line, followed by the rest of Collingwood's command. Each ship, gaining the lee side of an enemy, grappled in close action, thus preventing any chance of escape. Half an hour later the *Victory* also broke the line at some distance from Collingwood, and the remainder of the fleet followed as fast as they could. The effect was that the whole British strength concentrated upon the centre and rear of the French and Spaniards, leaving their van out of action. Three hours' hard fighting completed the enemy's ruin. When the firing died down nine French and nine Spanish ships had struck their colours. Of those which escaped into Cadiz hardly one was ever again in condition to put to sea as a fighting vessel. Nelson, shot by a marksman from the mizen-top of the French *Redoutable*, was carried below to die. He lived long enough to know that the day was won, and expired at half-past four, after murmuring, 'Thank God! I have done my duty.'

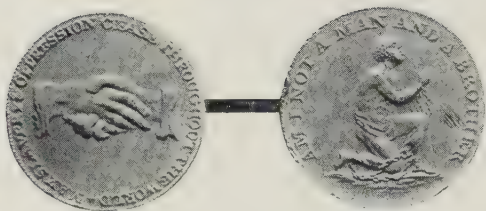
From that day for over a hundred years no enemy was found to challenge a pitched battle with a British fleet upon the high seas.



The end of *L'Orient*
From a contemporary broadside

P A R T I I I

The Modern Empire



An anti-slavery token

I

WILLIAM WILBERFORCE and the Crusade against Slavery

THE subject of this chapter is worthily entitled to rank as one of the makers of the modern British Empire, yet he stands alone among the men with whom we deal in the later part of our story in that he carried on all his empire-building on the soil of England itself. In fact, he never quitted his native land save for a holiday tour on the Continent. The work which he had to do was a work of reform and not of conquest, and the arena in which he fought was the House of Commons, and not the oceans and strange wildernesses where other pioneers have hammered out their country's destiny.

We have noticed more than once that the old Empire of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was a different thing from that of our own time. Its government was different, its employments were different, its methods of transport and warfare were utterly different. And in nothing is the contrast so wide as in the outlook, the point of view, of the people themselves, their ideas of their duty towards one another and towards the weaker races which came under their control. The ruling Englishman of the old days scarcely regarded a black man as a human being at all, nay more, he did not think of 'the poor' of his own race as persons having feelings,

needs, sorrows, and rights in any way akin to his own. 'The rich man in his castle, the poor man at his gate' were two different orders of creation, much as cats and dogs were, and if there was any injustice in the arrangement, it was providence rather than the rich man who was to blame. A great deal of crime and suffering proceeded from this point of view, but, until the middle of the eighteenth century, very few people were found to protest or to seek for improvement. The old Englishman was a practical man, taking the world as he



A Slave Yoke.

found it, playing the game by the established rules, and not given to brooding over his own wrongs or other people's; and to do him justice, it must be said that he was quite as cheerful in taking hard knocks as in giving them, and probably enjoyed his life as much as his more sensitive descendants do theirs.

However, in modern Europe nothing lasts, and in the latter part of the eighteenth century, there was a mighty growth of conscience and the moral feelings similar to the revival of learning and intellectual pursuits three centuries before. The minds of men began to stir against ignorance and injustice, dirt and disease, and there began a crusade against

these things which has continued to our own time, and shows as yet no sign of slackening. At first it was very unequal in its operation. It was very sensitive to evils in distant places and yet often blind to those at its own doors. In the later years of George III the most appalling treatment was meted out to little children in factories and coal mines. Thousands of them were worked and starved to death, and those who survived grew up sickly and deformed. Yet the first great questions to rouse the reformers to fighting pitch were the alleged misgovernment of Warren Hastings in India and the iniquity of enslaving negroes in Africa and making them toil in the sugar-fields of the West Indies. It is with this matter, the crusade against the slave trade and slavery, that the life of William Wilberforce is bound up.

The African slave trade was begun by the Portuguese explorers of the fifteenth century, who captured negroes to work on their own home lands of Portugal. Then, when the Spaniards colonized the West Indies there was a demand for slave labour there. The Portuguese supplied most of it, but Sir John Hawkins, under Queen Elizabeth, attempted to take part in the trade, and was ultimately foiled by force of arms. Englishmen again, in the early days of Virginia and the Leeward Islands, bought a few negroes, although at first they worked their plantations mainly by white men's labour. It was after the Restoration of Charles II in 1660 that the slave trade became a great English business. The Royal African Company and its rivals shipped thousands of slaves yearly to the West Indies and the American plantations. First London, then Bristol, and finally Liverpool became the head-quarters of the traffic, and it is idle to deny the fact that it bore a great part in laying the foundations of our subsequent prosperity. The sugar and tobacco plantations, cultivated by negro labour, poured wealth into the pockets of our merchants at home. This saved-up wealth became the stock of capital which financed the Industrial Revolution, the blotting out of the old domestic handicrafts



An African village, enclosed for defence against wild beasts and slave-raiders.



The Island of Goree, a celebrated slaving port. Goree was held sometimes by the French and sometimes by the British, changing hands frequently in the wars of the 18th century. It rested finally with the French.

by the modern factory system, with its machines, its smoke, slums, strikes, discontent, and general ugliness, now rapidly destroying the rural beauty of England. So, a moralist might say, has a crime brought its punishment.

For the slave trade was a crime, one of the greatest in the history of the modern world. The negro in some unknown village of the African interior found himself suddenly surprised by an armed gang, generally of black men like himself. He and his family were seized, the older persons slaughtered, the others chained in a long string and driven down to the coast, the weaklings killed without mercy as they failed to keep up with the march. On the coast he saw his first white men, the factors of the trading company which owned the forts. He and his companions in misery were hustled into a prison, there to await the next stage of their journey. Presently a ship appeared, and her captain came ashore to bargain for his lading. He selected his negroes, separating parents and children, husbands and wives, with no more compunction than if he were driving sheep to market. The chosen lot were rowed out to the ship, thrust below hatches, and chained up with scarcely space to breathe in the sweltering heat. The voyage began, the well-known Middle Passage from Africa to the West Indies. If it was lucky a few negroes died, if unlucky a great many, perhaps nearly the whole cargo. The average of a large number of trips worked out at twenty deaths in every hundred slaves embarked. Our negro, if he survived, was put up to auction and sold, if in good condition, for £25 or £30. His new owner set him to work in the sugar-fields under the eye of an overseer who carried a long whip and used it. The principle was to work the slave at high pressure, careless whether he lived or died ; it was cheaper to buy a new slave than to pamper an old one who showed signs of weakening. So the whip cracked from morning till night, and the negro toiled on for a few years until one day even the whip failed to rouse him any more, and the planter sent down to the market for a new

recruit. Such was British West Indian slavery, which endured, first and last, for two hundred years.

During most of that time England saw nothing wrong in it ; neither did France or any other European country. Some Quakers, it is true, denounced it in the reign of Charles II, but they were a despised sect, and obtained no hearing. Then, in the late eighteenth century, a few men devoted themselves to the rousing of the national conscience. The first leaders were Granville Sharp and Thomas Clarkson, and in 1772 they scored their first point by securing the release of a negro kept as a slave in England. The Lord Chief Justice Mansfield gave judgement that the law of England does not recognize the state of slavery, and that there can be no such thing as a slave on English soil. But it was a trifling success, for the Mansfield judgement did not apply to the colonies, which had separate laws of their own.

Parliament, however, could if it chose make laws for the colonies, and it was in Parliament that the reformers would have to fight their battle if they meant to win. Many years elapsed before the opportunity came—the dark years of the War of Independence, in which the English world was shaken to its foundation and reforms were scarcely to be thought of. Parliamentary agitation cost also a great deal of money, for it was only a rich man or a man with rich friends who could at that time think of obtaining a seat. At length the reformers enlisted such a man on their side.

William Wilberforce was born at Hull in 1759 of a wealthy family which had made its money in the North Sea trade. In due course he went to Cambridge, where he became acquainted with the younger William Pitt, an acquaintance which ripened into intimate friendship in later life. Both men entered Parliament as soon as they came of age, and in two years Pitt was Prime Minister—the youngest man who has ever held that office. Wilberforce generally voted in his support, although he remained a private member without Cabinet rank. He had up to that time been a man of ordinary

conduct and views, but in 1784 he 'became converted', as the phrase was, and resolved to devote his life to good works. Hannah More, a saintly lady of those days, thought his piety extraordinary. It was piety with nothing gloomy or fanatical about it. He was always cheery and broad-minded, delighting in hospitality and good fellowship, and charitable in all kinds of hard cases.

In 1787 Granville Sharp and other reformers organized the Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade and induced Wilberforce to join them. He was the man they were looking for, a known friend of the Prime Minister, and able to lead the cause in Parliament. He had some doubts of his own ability for the work, but at length undertook it. His life was destined to be a long one and the struggle longer still, but at that time there were hopes of a speedy victory.

The first move was made in 1788. Pitt, in the absence of Wilberforce owing to illness, moved and carried a resolution that the House of Commons should deal with the slave trade at an early date. Next year Wilberforce secured the passage of twelve resolutions condemning the trade in some detail. Pitt, Fox, and Burke, leaders who differed on most other points, were all in his favour, and Parliament seemed willing to pass the necessary law for abolition. The planters and slavers, on their side, denied the cruelties charged against them, and asked for a delay in order that they might produce their witnesses. This it was only fair to grant, and so at the favourable moment nothing decisive was done. It should be noted that at this time the reformers were attacking the slave trade alone, that is, the making of new slaves, and were not proposing to set free the slaves already in the plantations. That would have been a far more difficult affair, for which Wilberforce himself did not think the time was yet ripe. He calculated that if the trade could be stopped the planters would be compelled to treat their existing slaves more kindly, since they could get none to replace them. Meanwhile, he and others established a home for such negroes as they could

save by purchase or in other ways. They secured the cession of Sierra Leone on the West African coast, and formed a company to control it. The first Governor was Zachary Macaulay, the father of the great historian.



WILLIAM WILBERFORCE

From a portrait by J. Stewart.

All things had promised well at the outset, but now the attitude of Parliament changed. The slave owners brought a great deal of influence to bear and induced many members to support them. In 1789 began the French Revolution. At first it seemed likely to produce beneficial reforms, but

soon the extremists came to the front, and massacres and confusion resulted. These things had their effect upon English opinion. It was easy to point to the French example and to say that reform led to ruin. A still more pointed object-lesson came from the French colonies. The slaves of Haiti and other islands, hearing of the overthrow of the old government in France, rose against the planters, massacred large numbers of them, and destroyed the plantations. The effect was that former supporters of Wilberforce drew back. George III had at first approved of the cause; now he denounced it as revolutionary. Most of his subjects were of the same opinion, and even Pitt grew cold. In 1791 the House of Commons refused leave even for the introduction of a Bill to abolish the trade. In 1792 the Lords were the chief opponents, and thenceforward for many years there was nothing to be done in either House.

Wilberforce and his friends had to bide their time, doing what they could by correspondence and writings to strengthen their party and swing public opinion to their side. In 1797 Wilberforce himself went to live at Clapham Common, then a country district far from the noise of London. Others of his way of thinking settled at the same place—Zachary Macaulay, Charles Grant, who afterwards became Colonial Secretary, and several more. Together they became known as the Clapham Sect, in reference rather to their humanitarian aims than to their religious views. By working together they exercised a great influence upon the Government of England, and they were probably the first to show how this could be done by a small committee of non-official persons.

In 1802–3 there was a temporary peace with France, and the prospects of abolition grew brighter. When the war recommenced it was with the despotism of Napoleon rather than with the democratic principles of the revolutionaries. The project of freeing slaves seemed therefore to have less of a French flavour than it had before. In 1804 the Commons actually passed the Bill to abolish the slave trade, but the

United States had passed a law to stop their own slave trade in 1808, and at the general peace the powers of Europe had all expressed more or less willingness to do the same. But Britain alone had a navy strong enough for the task, and foreigners would not consent to let British cruisers search their ships. Accordingly, the slavers registered their vessels in foreign ports and sailed under American, Spanish, or Portuguese flags. With the West Indian planters ever ready to buy their wares, they were soon almost as active as ever, and the abolitionists found that they still had their victory to win. After many years America took up her share of the police work, and money bribes from the British Government induced the smaller powers to do theirs. Sierra Leone, now a Crown Colony, still received numbers of rescued slaves. In 1820 the American philanthropists created a similar home of refuge in Liberia, which became an independent negro republic and so continues to this day.

With the passing of the Act of 1807, Wilberforce had finished his most arduous work in Parliament. He remained a member for many years longer, interesting himself in matters of public importance. His views were curiously unequal: good works abroad always secured his sympathy, whilst suffering at home sometimes did not. In 1813, when the East India Company's charter came up for review, he led the agitation to compel the Company to admit missionaries to India, and succeeded in carrying his point. On the other hand, he voted in favour of the Corn Law of 1815, which caused great misery by keeping up the price of bread to a level which meant starvation for thousands; and some years earlier he had assisted Pitt to pass the Acts known as the Combination Laws, which made it a crime for down-trodden factory-workers to combine to demand higher wages. By these laws anything in the nature of a strike was treated as conspiracy and punished with imprisonment.

For the negroes Wilberforce had ever a soft place in his heart. Those of Haiti who had revolted against their French

masters in 1791 were never reconquered. They continued to govern or misgovern themselves as a disorderly black State, with frequent massacres and revolutions. At one time a negro of strong character came to the front, and it seemed as if he would civilize his people. He ruled for several years under the style of King Henry the First, leaning much on the advice of English sympathizers. He asked Wilberforce to send him out preachers and schoolmasters, but it was not easy to get men of the right stamp to go. Some gave up the work in despair, and one was found helplessly drunk in the midst of his disciples. The humanitarians at home were



HAITI and LIBERIA, the two black republics.

delighted with King Henry. Sir Joseph Banks wrote to Wilberforce: 'To see a set of human beings emerging from slavery and making the most rapid strides towards the perfection of civilization must, I think, be the most delightful of all food for contemplation.' Wilberforce thought the same, but Haiti, alas, did not fulfil its promise. King Henry was overthrown by a revolution and committed suicide, and his people slipped back into ever more barbarous habits, until in our own time the Americans have been obliged to step in and restore order.

There appears to have been an improvement in the treatment of the West Indian slaves after the prohibition of the trade in 1807. Perhaps if that prohibition had been effective,

and slaving had really been stopped, the reformers would have rested at that point, trusting to a gradual liberation of existing slaves and their children. But slaving went on for many a year, and so we find after 1820 a new campaign for the abolition of slavery itself. In 1823 Wilberforce and others formed the Anti-Slavery Society. He himself was now growing old and losing vigour. He therefore enlisted



Negro Emancipation. - Pl. I - The Annoucement. -

Emancipation of the slaves; sarcastic cartoon by R. Cruikshank. The figure upon the sugar-barrel bears a strong resemblance to Stiggins of *Pickwick Papers*.

a younger ally in the person of Thomas Fowell Buxton, who led the later stages of the crusade.

As before, the abolitionists collected evidence of the evils of slavery, and the planters retorted with denials and counter-charges against their accusers. The reformers now had in the colonies an advance guard of their own, formed by the missionaries sent out by English religious bodies. The planters naturally hated the missionaries, accusing them of stirring up rebellion among the blacks, and in the heat of passion both sides were guilty of actions which cool reflection could not justify.

Wilberforce, less extreme than some of his followers, always said that compensation ought to be paid if the slaves were set free, and also admitted that it was not every planter who was cruel to his slaves. The planters deserved some sympathy, even if their slaves deserved more. They felt that their position was misunderstood and their actions misrepresented, and that many of the men who subscribed the funds for the agitation were hypocrites who were carrying on slavery



Emancipation of the slaves; cartoon by J. Doyle. The liberated blacks dance round Sir T. F. Buxton, whilst John Bull on the right is asked to pay the bill of £20,000,000.

under another name in England itself. The story is told of some West Indian planters arriving at Liverpool and falling into the company of some Lancashire millowners. When the latter began to talk about the exploiting of women and children in their factories, and to boast about the long hours of work and the meagre wages paid, the West Indians arose in genuine indignation and refused to associate with such scoundrels any longer. The planter at least did not prey upon his own flesh and blood.

The work of the Society went forward. For a time it was eclipsed by the struggle over the great question of parlia-

mentary reform. But when the Reform Act of 1832 had been passed, and the first Parliament elected under the new conditions met in the following year, the path of the abolitionists was easy. The Bill for the abolition of slavery in the British Empire passed into law in 1833. It provided that by a given date all negroes must be set free, and it allotted a sum of £20,000,000 as compensation to their owners. The amount was less than half the value of the slaves, and the measure caused a great set-back to the prosperity of the West Indies. In South Africa also, where the Boer farmers had Hottentot slaves, it gave rise to much discontent, and helped to cause the enmity between British and Boers which has since led to so much bloodshed.

This was the price of a deed which was good in itself, even if unwisely carried out. It marks the completion of that revolution in English thought which Wilberforce and his friends had long ago set themselves to accomplish. In the eighteenth century the white man had looked upon himself as the conqueror and exploiter of the black races. In modern times he regards himself as a trustee for their protection and civilization. There have been breaches of the trust, it is true. A very horrible one occurred in the Congo Free State under the rule of King Leopold of Belgium. The eighteenth century would have looked on with folded arms, but the nineteenth raised such an outcry that the offence was stopped when the facts became fully known. What had once been the rule is now the glaring exception.

Wilberforce died in 1833, just before the abolition of slavery passed into law. He was buried in Westminster Abbey.



II. LORD DURHAM

the Apostle of Responsible Government

WILBERFORCE was a reformer on the moral plane ; he hated slavery mainly because he considered it un-Christian, and in denouncing it he appealed strongly to the religious feelings of his countrymen. The Earl of Durham was a political reformer ; with him a passion for justice and a hatred of unfair privilege were the guiding motives. These things, he contended, must be looked to, or the ruin of his country would result. He accomplished a mighty work for the Empire by introducing a new plan of colonial government in place of that which had broken down in the War of Independence ; but his supporters were a very different set of people from those who looked up to Wilberforce as a saint. They were men whom Wilberforce disliked, men who realized the vile effects of the Industrial Revolution upon large sections of the English people, and who were determined at any cost to remedy the social abuses they saw around them. Wilberforce, on the other hand, was almost inclined to congratulate the poor on their poverty, because it saved them from so many of the temptations to which the rich were exposed. There was a wide cleavage between the two points of view, and yet each has been a factor in producing the state of affairs in which the Empire lives to-day.

John George Lambton, created Earl of Durham, was born in 1792. His family was one of the most ancient in England, having held the same estates continuously from the twelfth century. He was not, however, a supporter of aristocratic privilege. When he entered Parliament towards the close of the Napoleonic wars the times seemed to him too critical for the play of class interests, and he attached himself to the small band who described themselves as radical reformers.

Radical aristocrats incurred a great deal of abuse from members of the opposite party, but from this distance of time it is possible to understand their motives. They were, for the most part, men who regretted the great industrial changes that were taking place, yet who saw that it was useless to fight against the spirit of the age. Ironmasters, colliery owners, cotton magnates, and captains of industry in general were altering the whole aspect of society. The old peasant industries were becoming a thing of the past, and the new industries were housed in power-driven factories surrounded by slums in which misery reached a depth never imagined before. The general effect was that the rich were richer and the poor poorer than before the change. Unimaginative men were content to let things take their course, but there were others who foresaw the consequences of sitting on a safety-valve. We cannot undo what has been done, they said, we cannot blot these scars from the fair face of England, but we can at least take off our coats and work to remedy the worst consequences of the misfortune ; society has changed out of knowledge and changed for the worse ; let us push the change farther still, in the hope of reaching something better. Such were the motives of the best of the reformers a century ago ; and for the measure of their success we have to look around us.

Durham, then, worked with the extreme radical wing of the Whigs. He opposed the Corn Law of 1815, he supported resolutions for parliamentary reform, and he denounced the ' Peterloo Massacre ' of 1819, when troops were employed to disperse a reform meeting, and did so with considerable

bloodshed. 'I regret every hour', he wrote, 'which passes over the existence of recognized and unreformed abuses.' He was a fiery crusader, and at length he had his reward in helping to plan and carry the great Reform Act of 1832. All this, however, was but preliminary to the work by which he gained his place in history.

We last spoke of Canada as it was when Carleton left it at the close of the eighteenth century. There were two provinces, Upper and Lower Canada (Ontario and Quebec), each with a representative assembly and council of its own. The maritime provinces, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island, were separate colonies, not reckoned as part of Canada at all. The two Canadian provinces contained two nations, the French, who were in the majority in Quebec, and the British, at first consisting almost exclusively of United Empire Loyalists, who occupied On-



LORD DURHAM

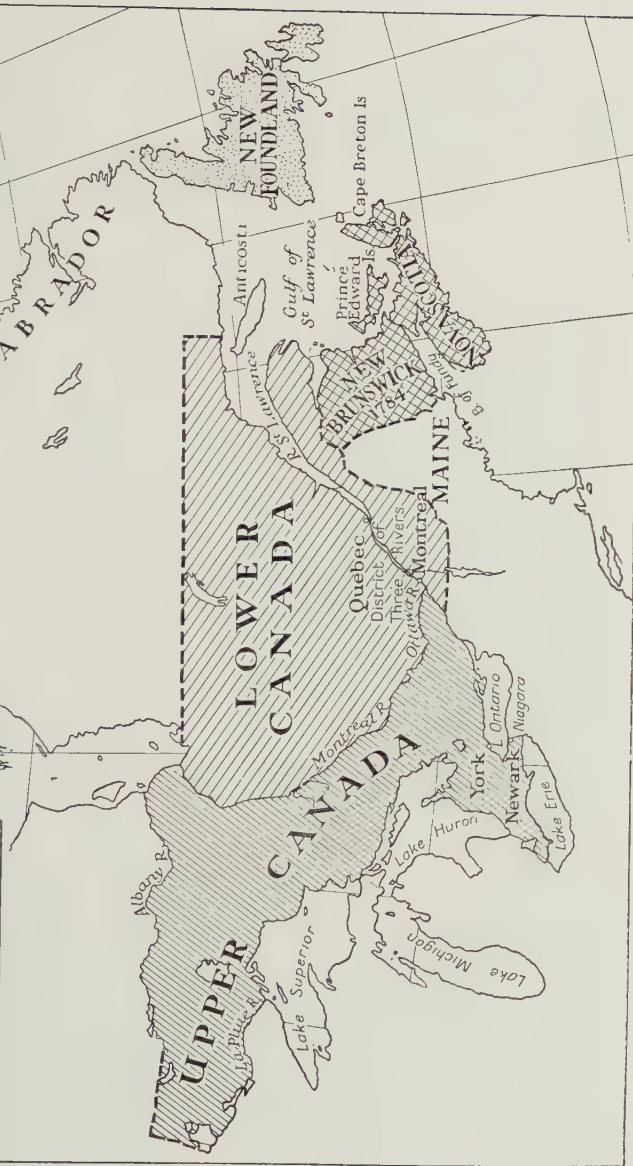
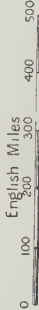
tario. The system of representative government established by Pitt worked fairly well at first, although there was after the lapse of years some discontent among the French of Quebec. They were beginning to learn the possibilities of the English system of elective politics, at first quite strange to them, and to enjoy the game of baiting the Government which that system permitted. This disaffection had not gone very far when in 1812 all Canada had to close its ranks against a common peril.

A dispute had arisen between the United States and Great

Britain concerning the rights of search claimed by the British Navy upon the sea. The two nations came to blows, and Canada, although not concerned in the original quarrel, was made the scapegoat, for the Americans undertook her invasion and conquest. Had Canada been disloyal the conquest would have been easy, for the flower of the British Army was fighting under Wellington in the Peninsula, and there were very few regular soldiers in the colony. But the colonists themselves repelled the invaders. The Loyalists of Ontario had no doubt of their duty. They formed themselves into militia regiments, and in three successive years, 1812, 1813, and 1814, rolled back the American troops after the most determined fighting. After the campaign of 1814 there was no more danger, for the Peninsular War had come to an end, and the men who had won it were shipped across the Atlantic without delay. This explains, incidentally, why Wellington had so few veteran regiments at Waterloo in 1815. The French of Quebec had been less closely pressed, but when their turn came they also had done their share and had won a very complete victory over the invaders. The War of 1812, as it is generally called, was ended by the Treaty of Ghent, signed in the last days of 1814. It left Canada with undiminished territory and a splendid heritage of honour.

It should have been the foundation of a happy and prosperous period, but the real outcome was sadly different. The government of the two Canadas was of the type now called representative. That is to say, the people had through their elected assembly a share in the making of the laws and the granting of taxation. But this, especially in a growing country, is a less important part of government than the administration of the laws when made. That is the function of the officers of state, the heads of the various departments of the public service—the cabinet ministers as we call them in modern England. No people is really self-governing unless it has the power to control the appointment and dismissal of these officers. In Canada, under the representative system,

CANADA & MARITIME PROVINCES in the early nineteenth century



the most powerful official was the Governor, and he was appointed by the British Government at home. Under him were the chiefs of the various departments, composing what was called the executive council. These men were all appointed either from home or by the Governor without reference to the wishes of the assembly, and they had in their hands the entire administration of the country. Even in the matter of legislation or law-making the elected assembly had only a share of power. Every bill passed by it had also to pass a legislative council before it went any farther, and the members of the legislative council were also nominated by the Governor. Finally, the Governor himself frequently vetoed a bill even when it had passed both these bodies.

Turning now to the way in which this system worked, we find that in Quebec or Lower Canada there was the standing grievance of nationality. The majority of the people were French, but the Governor was always English, generally an army officer, and so were nearly all the officials. The French, therefore, had a suspicion that they were not getting fair play, and that there was a design to make them a subject race. Every little disagreement was magnified into an act of oppression, anger and hatred grew rife on both sides, and the French peasants began to elect to the assembly men who were less notable for their wisdom than for their power of making violent scenes and bitter speeches. The leader of these agitators was Louis Joseph Papineau, an able but unbalanced man, who conceived the idea of making Quebec an independent French community. He and his party opposed every policy, however reasonable, of the Governor and the officials. They tried to oppress the British minority in the province by heavy taxation, they cried out against the granting of land to British immigrants, and they refused to vote money for the judges' salaries. For twenty years the agitation became ever more shrill and hysterical, until by 1837 Papineau had worked up his party to the pitch of armed rebellion.

In Ontario, the Upper Canada of the United Empire Loyalists, the faulty representative system likewise bore evil fruit. The Loyalists took pride in the fact that they had made the province by their sufferings in 1783, and that they had preserved it by their valour in 1812. Among them there was no question of disloyalty and no doubt that the Government could trust them, and when the war came to an end no colony in the Empire had a better spirit. Successive Governors appointed the colonial leaders to the posts in the executive and legislative councils, and made generous grants of land to the veterans of 1812. By so doing they unwittingly shaped a privileged caste in the community, a ring of the wealthier inhabitants who came to look upon it as their right to monopolize favour and office. This ring received the nickname of the Family Compact. Favouritism is a bad thing, but among the Loyalists it grew up almost unobserved. It was the new-comers who appeared after 1815 who were the first to point it out. Some of these immigrants after the peace were Americans from the States, who naturally did not find a cordial welcome in Ontario. Still more were from the British Isles, the advance guard of that great exodus which has poured westward throughout the past century. These people, English, Scotch, and Irish, found themselves despised as an inferior class by the privileged Compact. They could not



LOUIS JOSEPH PAPINEAU

obtain land on the easy terms enjoyed by the original colonists. When they came to inquire into the reason they found that it lay in the attitude of the officials, who all belonged to the old set and were determined that the new-comers should not secure any share in the government. There was also a religious discrimination. By the Act of 1791 two Churches, the Anglican and the Presbyterian, had lands reserved for the support of their clergy. But there were now other sects in the colony, their members as numerous as those of the privileged two, and they were left out in the cold.

When the new-comers began to protest against these things, they received rough treatment. Robert Gourlay, a Scotsman, asked inconvenient questions, and was so harshly imprisoned that he went out of his mind. He had committed no actual crime, and yet had been ruined. It was a startling thing to happen in a free British community. William Lyon Mackenzie, another Scotsman, took up the cause. Like Papineau, he was a skilled agitator. He edited a newspaper in which he attacked the Family Compact. His opponents sacked his office and broke up his machinery, but he was a tough man who thrived on persecution. Gradually he organized a party which plagued the Government for redress of grievances. He was more than once elected to the assembly and cast out by the Compact's majority. Finally, he also began to plot rebellion.

The two rebellions broke out in the winter of 1837. In spite of all the inflammatory talk they were not well supported. It is one thing to be discontented ; it is quite another, as the agitators found, to take up arms against one's country. A few of the French Canadians rose under Papineau, whilst the majority stood aloof. Papineau, seized with panic, fled into the United States, leaving his followers to fight it out. Some of them fought desperately, and there was considerable bloodshed, but in a month all was over and authority was triumphant. Mackenzie in Ontario made an even poorer display. His rebellion was little more than a riot, in which

an undisciplined mob was quieted and dispersed in a week. He also escaped into American territory.

In the days of the old colonial Empire these events would have caused little concern at home. A dozen or so of the ringleaders would have been hanged, and all would have gone on as before. But in the new age when reformers were busy in all directions the Canadian rebellion attracted serious notice. There is no smoke without fire, and it was evident that something was seriously wrong with colonial government. The Mother Country did not know what it was, but she deputed an able servant to find out. Her choice fell on the Earl of Durham.

Durham had been studying colonial questions for some time. So also had two other men, Charles Buller and Edward Gibbon Wakefield. Buller devoted special attention to the shortcomings of the Colonial Office and its officials overseas, to their incompetence, jobbery, and corruption. Wakefield worked out a scheme of emigration, whereby the surplus masses at home should be quickly transferred to the vacant spaces of the Empire. These enthusiasts had already formed the Colonization Society and had been preaching their doctrines for some years. They had now a chance to show their practical statesmanship.

Early in 1838 the British Government appointed Lord Durham Governor-General of British North America and granted him also a commission to investigate the troubles of Upper and Lower Canada. He sailed as soon as the season permitted, and reached Quebec in May. He had with him on his staff both Buller and Wakefield. He and his assistants travelled through Canada, heard evidence at first hand, and saw for themselves the grievances of the country. In so doing they collected the material for the writing of the *Durham Report*, which is certainly the most important document in the history of the modern Empire.

Lord Durham had crossed the Atlantic bearing with him a very full knowledge of the evils existing at home—unemploy-

ment, overcrowding, slums, lack of opportunity, and the resulting discontent. On reaching Canada he found discontent indeed, but discontent springing from evils of quite a different order. There the opportunities of life were ample, wide lands waiting for inhabitants, a chance for millions of people to live in freedom and prosperity. The evils, he considered, were of two kinds, an unhappy strife between the British and French nationalities, and a faulty system of government. In framing his *Report* he kept both sides of the Atlantic in his mind, speaking neither from the narrow insular nor from the narrow colonial point of view, but from a broad understanding of the Empire as a whole. Seldom has a statesman taken so full an advantage of a great opportunity.

The *Report* recommended that the Canadas should be united under one government, of which British and French should be the common subjects. Durham conceived that this was the only way to combat the ideas of separation pursued by the French, 'the idle and narrow notion of a petty and visionary nationality'. The question was one peculiar to Canada, but the other main points with which the *Report* dealt were of interest to the Empire at large, and it is these which give it its enduring value. It condemned unsparingly the system of representative government, with officials appointed (often for reasons of patronage) by the Colonial Office at home. It advocated instead responsible government, in which the administration of the colony should be by a cabinet of ministers responsible to the people themselves, and capable of being dismissed by the people's representatives if there was ground for dissatisfaction. Only under such a system, said Durham, would men of British blood live contentedly; it was absurd to expect them to yield cheerful obedience to a government office on the other side of the Atlantic. The Canadian troubles illustrated the point. In Upper Canada the officials of the Family Compact were accused of being corrupt. Under the old system there

was no way of removing them save by rebellion. Under responsible government the official could be turned out of office by a vote of the assembly. In England we ourselves enjoy responsible government. If our ministers lose the confidence of the House of Commons they have to resign, and the Commons in their turn are chosen by the people. The *Report* made it clear that the colonies must be given the same freedom.

On another matter the *Report* connected the interests of the Mother Country and the colony. In the one there were millions of people without land, in the other millions of acres without people. The unoccupied lands, said Durham, must not be given away to a few favoured persons who would make an unjust profit by them. They must be held in trust for the whole British people. They are, in the words of the *Report*, 'the ample appanage which God and nature have set aside in the New World for those whose lot has assigned them but insufficient portions in the Old'. It is a view which has prevailed in the administration of the Empire ever since.

It is no exaggeration to say that in a few months Lord Durham completely recast his countrymen's ideas about the colonial Empire. But it was not fated that he himself should carry out the reforms he so ardently described. He was a man who made enemies as well as friends, and his enemies were powerful in Parliament. In the summer of 1838 he signed an order for the exile from Canada of some of the leaders of the rebellion. It was a light penalty for men who might justly have been put to death. But Lord Brougham, who had an old grudge against him, took up the matter at home and induced Parliament to censure his action. Durham found himself deserted by his own Government, and he could do nothing but resign. So, before the great *Report* was finished, he had ceased to be Governor-General of Canada. He did not long survive the disappointment, dying in England in 1840. He has been described as a bad-tempered man, wanting in tact, and very vain; but he was a good servant of the Empire, and he was shabbily treated at the last.



THE MODERN DOMINION

Settlement encroaching on the forest, and a prairie wheatfield

After his death his work went forward. The two Canadas were united by an Act of 1840, and gradually the racial trouble became less dangerous; although to this day the French Canadians maintain themselves as a distinct community. Responsible government, however, gives them an outlet for their special point of view, and the French province has furnished some of the ablest of Canada's modern statesmen. In 1867 political progress made another stride when Ontario and Quebec were federated with the maritime provinces as the Dominion of Canada. Nor did expansion stop there. The vast lands of the West, hitherto owned by the Hudson's Bay Company, were taken over by the Dominion, and from them have been carved the prairie provinces which have in our own day received a steady stream of new settlers.

This orderly growth would have been impossible under the old narrow system. It could only have been effected by a country free to manage its own affairs. Responsible government was the touchstone. At first the home authorities were rather afraid of it, but in the end they yielded, and ten years after Durham's death responsible government was in full operation in Canada. Thence it has spread successively to Newfoundland, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa. Every white community in the Empire looks to it as a right as soon as the pioneers are sufficiently settled. The latest example is Rhodesia, which has secured responsible government as recently as the year 1922. The result has been freedom combined with unity. The British overseas govern themselves, but, as the Great War has shown, they are more public-spirited citizens of the Empire than their forerunners were in the old days of the eighteenth century.



III. CAPTAIN CHARLES STURT

the Australian Explorer

SIR JOSEPH BANKS, who had been with Captain Cook at the discovery of New South Wales, never forgot the attractive aspect of that country. He hoped that Englishmen would some day colonize it, and after the loss of the American colonies he found an opportunity to press his views upon the Government. One of the problems of the time was how to dispose of the large numbers of convicts which the hard laws and brutal habits of the eighteenth century produced. Before the loss of America many convicts had been sent there to work for the farmers of New England and the planters of the South. After the War of Independence this was no longer possible, and the prisons at home became overcrowded. A penal settlement was therefore decided upon, and Banks urged that it should be in New South Wales. He himself, like Wilberforce, was a humanitarian. He thought life in a new country would reform the criminals and give them a fresh chance. But actually this turned out to be a mistake, and the story of transportation forms one of the most miserable chapters in our history. Nevertheless, it resulted in bringing Australia under the flag instead of leaving it, as might well have happened, to be claimed by France.

In 1788 Captain Arthur Phillip of the Royal Navy landed with the first party of convicts and soldiers. He disembarked

at Botany Bay, but soon afterwards moved the head-quarters of the settlement to Sydney on the magnificent harbour of Port Jackson. For many years hardship was the lot of all concerned, but gradually agriculture took root, cattle and sheep were acclimatized, and the colony became self-supporting. Other settlements were planted along the coast and on the island of Van Diemen's Land, now called Tasmania.

For the first twenty-five years New South Wales was limited to a strip about fifty miles wide along the coast. Here corn was grown and sheep were bred, their wool forming the most valuable export of the country. The flocks needed vast areas of pasturage, but the Blue Mountains were an obstacle which long forbade further expansion into the interior. At length, in 1813, pioneers found a pass through the range, and soon the sheep were being driven through to feed upon the rich grazing lands beyond. The discovery provided also a new field for explorers, for on the farther slope of the watershed there were several rivers flowing away from the sea into the limitless distances of the interior. To plot the course of these rivers and to find out whither they went was a difficult and dangerous task. The man who accomplished the greatest share of it was he whose name stands at the head of this chapter.

Charles Sturt was born in Bengal in 1795. At the age of eighteen he obtained a commission in the 39th Foot and fought in the last campaign of the Peninsular War. As soon as it was over, in the spring of 1814, the regiment was shipped to Canada to defend that country against the Americans who had been seeking to conquer it since 1812. No sooner was peace concluded with the United States, than news came of the escape of Napoleon from Elba and the prompt declaration of war upon him by all the powers of Europe. Sturt and his regiment therefore crossed the Atlantic again in haste, but they were too late to fight at Waterloo, and the young ensign's brief war service was at an end. It was in another career of danger that he was destined to make his



VAN DIEMAN'S LAND

Bebbington, Printer, 22, Goulden St. Oldham Road Manchester
and sold by H. Andrews, 27, St. Peter Street, Leeds.

Come all you gallant poachers, that ramble void of care,
That walk out on a moonlight night, with your dog, gun, and
snare;

The hare and lofty pheasant you have at your command,
Not thinking of your last career upon Van Dieman's Land.

Poor Thomas Brown, of Nottingham, Jack Williams, and Poor
Joe,

Were three determin'd poachers, as the country well doth know
At night they were trepann'd by the keepers hid in sand,
And fourteen years transported were upon Van Dieman's Land

The first day we landed upon the fatal shore,
The planters came around us—their might be 20 score,
They rank'd us up like horses and sold us out of hand, (Land
They yok'd us in a plough, brave boys, to plough Van Dieman's

Our cottages we live in are built of clods and clay,
And rotten straw for bedding, yet we dare not say nay,
Around our cots a curling fire--we slumber when we can,
And drive the wolves and tigers oft upon Van Dieman's Land.

Oft times when I do slumber, I have a pleasant dream,
With my sweet girl sitting near me close by a purling stream
Thro' England I've been roaming, with her at my command,
And waken broken-hearted upon Van Dieman's Land.

The poacher's punishment. A broadside of the early 19th century.

name. He remained with his regiment for several years, first in France and then in Ireland. In 1827, having attained the rank of captain, he sailed for New South Wales in command of a detachment of soldiers who acted as guards for a shipload of transported convicts. Upon arrival he was appointed to the staff of the Governor, Sir Ralph Darling.

At the close of 1828 Sturt set out upon his first journey of discovery. The River Macquarie, flowing north-westward from the mountains, had already been followed until it disappeared in a vast swamp. It seemed likely that the water must have some exit from the swamp, and Sturt went to trace its further course. With him went Hamilton Hume, an Australian born, and eight other men. They rode on horseback, driving some cattle before them. It was the height of the southern summer. The thermometer rose to 114° , and the scorched earth opened out in great cracks, which made movement dangerous after nightfall. Already suffering, they reached the marshes of the Macquarie to find, as they had been told, that the waters were swallowed up in a huge expanse of reeds, alive with flies and mosquitoes, and emitting pestilent vapours as the vegetation rotted in the sun. This unlovely region provided a puzzle which they did not solve, for there seemed to be no exit of the Macquarie from the swamp. At length they struck off across the parched country, and after a hazardous ride they reached a noble swift-flowing river. Triumphantly they scrambled down its bank to drink—and they found that its water was salt! It was a serious check, and only the discovery of a freshwater pond in the neighbourhood saved the lives of themselves and their animals. Sturt named the new river the Darling, and decided that he must beat a retreat, for the weather was growing hotter, and he knew that the pools which had nourished their outward journey must be drying up behind them. The saltiness of the Darling was due to brine springs in its bed. Farther on its waters became drinkable, but the explorers had no



A VIEW OF SYDNEY in its early days. From *An Account of New South Wales*, by David Collins, 1798.

means of knowing this. After more privations they returned safely to Sydney in April 1829.

The discovery of the Darling only complicated the problem of the rivers. It was evident that the drainage of a vast watershed flowed off to an unknown destination. The slopes of the country made it probable that most of the rivers would converge into one great stream. It might be expected to reach the ocean, but by this time the coasts of Australia had been fairly closely surveyed from the sea, and no great river mouth had been found. And those who believed that this was the solution were unable to say whether the estuary would be on the north or south side of the continent. This difficulty led others to guess that there must be somewhere in the interior a great inland sea into which flowed the rivers. It was a notion fostered by reports gathered from the natives, but natives' tales have often proved misleading to explorers in many parts of the world. The savage, not really knowing any more than does his questioner, is tempted to make the answer which he sees will give satisfaction. So had Raleigh in former days eagerly swallowed Indian rumours of the golden city of Manoa in South America.

Six months after the close of his first journey, Sturt attacked the river problem again. In November 1829 he set out with a party of soldiers and convicts, the latter picked out as being of better behaviour than the majority. His second-in-command was George Macleay, a youth of twenty, red-haired and cheerful, whose good spirits had much to do with the success of the expedition. They took with them cattle and sheep and some heavy baggage on carts, including two boats in sections ready to fit together. The first object was to strike the new river Darling, discovered the year before ; but Sturt, believing that all the rivers converged, determined to follow the Murrumbidgee, a stream whose upper waters were already known.

The party travelled down the banks of the Murrumbidgee until, like the Macquarie, it lost itself in a great bed of reeds.

It was impossible to drive the animals and the carts through this swamp, so Sturt decided to form a depot of stores, build his boats, and go on by water, sending back the greater number of his men and the horses. Six men accordingly formed the crews of the boats, in addition to the commander. Whilst threading the swamp one boat struck a log and sank, although no lives were lost. All then continued the voyage



Young White-birding, &c.

Australian natives. A rite in the initiation of a youth into the mysteries of his tribe, 1798 (David Collins).

in a single boat. Presently, the river issued from the reed bed and flowed on at a great pace between narrowing banks. It was dangerous navigation, for the stream hurried along with it a mass of floating trees and logs, any of which might have stove in the boat had not the greatest care been used. A few days after setting out, the adventurers reached the confluence of the Murrumbidgee and another river named the Lachlan, whose upper waters rose in the hills lying inland

from Sydney. The combined stream then flowed on at a more furious pace than ever, until at length after many anxious days it shot the boat out upon the bosom of the finest river yet seen in Australia. Sturt named this new discovery the Murray. The minds of all were now on fire with the enterprise, and they determined to follow the Murray to its outfall, whithersoever it might lead them.

Navigation was now easier, for the Murray flowed at a more dignified pace than that of its tributary. But another danger appeared in the shape of numerous natives who had never before seen a white man. They seemed to be sulky and distrustful rather than actively hostile, but it required the utmost tact and good humour to avoid offending them. When they had conquered their first suspicions they became very inquisitive, insisting upon examining everything in the white men's possession, even to their hair and their clothing. Sturt records that his shirt was covered with grease from the unclean fingers of his hosts, but that he always drew the line at allowing them to rummage his pockets. Macleay's unfailing good temper proved a boon on these occasions, which were many times repeated, and on which a single false move might have provoked a fight and a massacre. At one point such a tragedy nearly took place. A long spit of sand ran out into the river, leaving only a narrow passage for the boat. On this sandbank a mob of six hundred savages collected, furiously excited and brandishing their spears. To turn back was impossible, for the current bore the boat forward. Sturt and his half-dozen were ready with their guns, but they had little chance of fighting their way through. Just, however, as death seemed inevitable some friendly natives ran up and persuaded the hostile crowd to allow the white men to go in peace. These saviours belonged to a tribe which Sturt had passed a few days before. They had tried to warn him of the danger, but he had not understood them, and then they had hurried off themselves to avert the tragedy.

Soon after this event the explorers passed the confluence

of the Darling with the Murray. They recognized the Darling by its volume and its brackish water. All the chief rivers of New South Wales were now accounted for: they had all converged into the Murray. The final mystery yet remained—whither did the Murray go? An old man made a pantomime of the waves of the sea, and pointed westwards. But still they did not know what sea was meant, whether the ocean or some vast inland lake. Day after day they sailed on, Sturt making a careful chart of all the windings of the river.

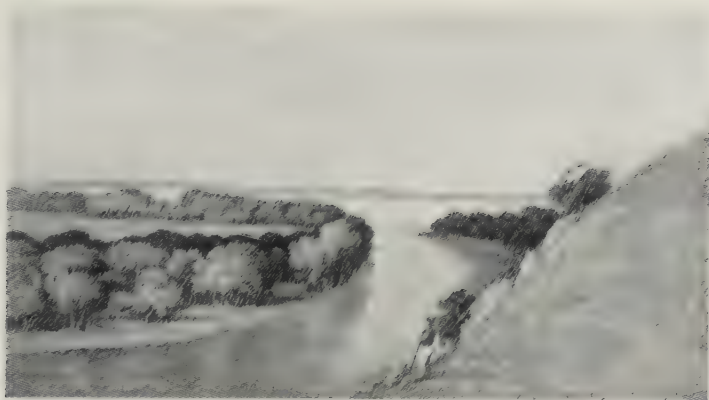
At length the Murray turned sharply to the southward, and high grounds blocked the western horizon. They knew now that they were bound for the ocean, but still it was difficult to imagine how the sailors had missed finding the estuary of so great a river. The explanation in due time appeared. The Murray flowed into a great tidal lagoon, barred off from the sea by sandbanks, reefs, and tumbling breakers. No ship could approach such a place, and no seaman could suspect that a large river discharged itself behind these obstacles.

To sail out through the breakers in a leaky open boat was impossible. The only course was for the explorers to return by the way they had come. They had solved the problem of the rivers, but the hardest part of the task, that of saving their own lives and reporting their news, was still before them. On 12th February, 1830, they began their retreat up the Murray, weak from lack of food and confinement to the boat. The current was now against them, the oars demanded constant labour in a broiling sun, and the rations had diminished to starvation point. The natives, as before, were a dreadful nuisance. Even when friendly their attentions were hard to bear by men who were so weary that they slept as they tugged at their oars. The chart alone kept up the party's spirits. It showed them the progress they had made, and it gave them the certainty that if they persevered they would reach relief. For nearly two months the struggle continued, until at last they reached the depot at the reed bed, having finished their own supplies almost to the last ounce. No one

had died, but all had suffered severely. Hardship and the glaring sun had affected Sturt's eyesight, so that when he reached Sydney he was nearly blind, and his sight never fully recovered for the rest of his life.

The threat of blindness compelled him to return to England for skilled advice, but before long he was back once more in New South Wales, improved, although not completely cured. In the meanwhile his discoveries on the Murray were having important results. They directed attention to the southern coast of Australia, hitherto not thought of much account, and on the shores of St. Vincent Gulf, the next inlet to the estuary of the Murray, some fine country was discovered, suitable for a new settlement. In 1836, accordingly, the pioneers of South Australia disembarked and occupied the site of the present city of Adelaide. They were picked men, perhaps the finest body of colonists who ever left the mother country, and it was a law of South Australia from the beginning that no convicts should ever be transported there. Nevertheless, in spite of the good quality of the settlers, there was sad mismanagement and waste of money in the early years owing to lack of experience among those directing the enterprise. At one time a famine seemed probable, and relief had to be sought from the older colonies in Australia. It was this which brought Charles Sturt to the new scene of activity in the south.

In May 1838 he set out from New South Wales in command of a party of men who drove before them a large herd of cattle for the relief of the Adelaide settlers. He followed the course of the Murray, but had this time to ride along its banks, as the cattle could not be conveyed in boats. The journey, although not so perilous as in 1830, still provided plenty of anxiety and adventure. The animals often strayed and had to be hunted down, and the natives were still inclined to give trouble. Sturt, as the leader, had to be in the forefront of the expedition, although his sight was still so bad that he could hardly distinguish one man from another at



THE MURRAY RIVER

From Sturt's *Expedition in Central Australia*, 1849.



PORT ADELAIDE in the early days of the colony.

From Sturt's *Expedition in Central Australia*, 1849.

a few yards' distance. In spite of this he accomplished his task, triumphantly driving his herd over the lofty range between the lower Murray and St. Vincent Gulf, and arriving in Adelaide amid scenes of enthusiasm.

There was still some doubt whether Adelaide was the best spot for the capital of the new colony. It was near a good anchorage, but it was separated from the Murray by a wide range of hilly country. If the mouth of the Murray could be shown to be accessible from the sea many people thought it would be better to move the settlement thither. Sturt took it upon himself to tackle this problem. In September 1838 he sailed from Adelaide to the lagoons of the Murray, opening out of Encounter Bay. His object was to penetrate into the river from the open sea ; and he tried it in a whale-boat commanded by a South Sea whaling captain and rowed by a crew of veteran whale hunters. They were the best men for such a task, for their calling had taught them to handle a boat in all weathers and amid hair-raising perils. They now had need of all their skill. The boat was soon amid a maze of reefs and banks, dashed hither and thither by roaring breakers in which it seemed impossible that she should live. But the whaling skipper brought her through, and at last all hands struggled to shore. It was not an experiment to be repeated, and it had yielded the information required. The Murray estuary was evidently no place in which to found a seaport, and all doubts about Adelaide were at an end.

For some years Sturt served the new colony in less exciting tasks. He was busy on the land-surveying which had to be done before the area of settlement could be extended, doing fine work for the public good without very much advantage to himself. But the zest for discovery was in his blood, and in 1844 he prepared for his greatest journey.

Already Adelaide had been the starting-point of exploration northward into the interior. In 1840 E. J. Eyre, afterwards Governor of Jamaica, had penetrated far into the country, find-

ing at last the inland sea upon which great hopes had been built. It was a disappointment, for it consisted of little more than an expanse of mud and salt pools surrounded by a burnt and barren landscape. Afterwards, Eyre had ridden along the south coast of the continent to King George's Sound in the west, an adventurous journey in which he narrowly escaped death ; for these desolate shores afforded neither fresh water nor food, except at rare intervals.

Eyre had gone up to the north-west of Adelaide by way of Lake Torrens to the farther basin which is called by his own name. Sturt decided to push for the centre of the continent by making a wide sweep to the eastward. He set out in August 1844, with three officers and twelve men, driving with them a flock of sheep which experience had proved to be often the only way of ensuring a supply of food. One of his followers was McDouall Stuart, afterwards the first man to travel right across the centre of Australia from Adelaide to the northern coast. Sturt and his party now went up the Murray to its junction with the Darling, and thence up the Darling for 176 miles more. From this point they turned away at right angles to the river and crossed the burning hills of the Stanley Range, reaching a place they called Rocky Glen in January 1845. It was the height of summer, and the year was one of terrible drought. From November to July not a drop of rain fell, and the heat was beyond anything they had believed possible. Hair and finger-nails became brittle, and writing or map-making were very difficult, for the ink dried instantly upon the pen. Scurvy broke out among the men and one died, although the sheep appeared to thrive. The drought kept them prisoners at Rocky Glen for six months, until a fall of rain permitted further movement. Sturt then sent back some of the party and pushed on westwards with the others. He found a new lake-bed (Lake Gregory), consisting of salt pools and mud like those discovered by Eyre. Although for the most part dry on the surface, it was impassable, for the crust threatened to give

way and engulf man and beast in bottomless slime beneath. Still persevering, Sturt rounded the lake and turned north-westwards. He passed and partly followed four several rivers—or rather streaks in the landscape which might have been rivers, for they were but chains of salt pools. Thence he reached a burning desert of blood-red sand and stony hills almost in the centre of the continent. He was unfortunate in the time of his journey, for central Australia was then undergoing a prolonged and exceptional drought. Conditions since his time have improved a little, although lack of sufficient water still prevents the peopling of these regions.

The desert and the shortage of supplies forced Sturt back to his depot west of the Stanley Range. After a rest of only six days he was off again on a new track, discovering a semi-river which he called Cooper's Creek. Beyond this he was again baffled by the desert. He was now ill with scurvy, and travelled slowly back by the way he had come to the Darling, and thence by the Murray to Adelaide. In nineteen months he had covered 3,500 miles in one of the most terrible landscapes in the world. As a result of his efforts exact details were available about a region previously a mere blank upon the map. It was not an attractive region, but that rather adds to than diminishes the credit due to its explorer.

Sturt continued in the government service of South Australia until 1851. Afterwards he returned to England and lived quietly at Cheltenham until his death in 1869. Those who knew him record that he could never be induced to speak of his adventures. He held very strongly that one mark of a really sound man is that he never talks about himself.



IV. SIR GEORGE GREY

and the Rise of the Southern Dominions

IN the spring of 1812 Wellington's army in the Peninsula took by storm the fortress of Badajoz, after as great a display of valour amid terrible circumstances as an army of that time ever made. Among those who fell in the action was a certain Colonel Grey of the 30th Foot, and down at the base at Lisbon there was born in those same days a son whom his father never saw, the George Grey who was to make history in the southern dominions of the Empire.

When he grew up the boy entered the army, obtaining his first commission in 1829. He served some years in Ireland where in the course of duty he had often to assist in scenes which made a painful impression upon him, evicting peasants whose rent was unpaid, and protecting the officers of the law from the violence of the evicted one's sympathizers. The wretchedness of Ireland turned his mind to the same visions of an imperial remedy as the sufferings of industrial England had inspired in Lord Durham. Both men alike became convinced that the distant territories under the British flag offered the true cure for the ills of society. In 1839 he left the army with the rank of captain, but already his overseas career had begun.

In the summer of 1837, just as Queen Victoria came to the throne, Grey sailed for Australia, there to lead an explor-

ing expedition in the Government service. At that time the Australian colonies were in their infancy. New South Wales, founded by Captain Phillip in 1788, occupied the south-east corner of the country, and included the regions of Victoria and Queensland, which were made separate units only at a later date. Like Van Diemen's Land (afterwards called Tasmania), New South Wales received large numbers of convicts transported from the British Isles. Apart from these settlements there was very little else. A colony had been planted in 1829 on the Swan River in Western Australia.



Van Diemen's Land and Tasmania.
Stamps of 1857-9 showing the change of name.

It had been badly managed and deserted by most of its pioneers. At the time of Grey's arrival it had only a few hundred inhabitants grouped about its centre at Perth. Similarly, in the previous year, 1836, a body of settlers had broken new ground at Adelaide in South Australia, but as yet their holdings scarcely extended out of sight of the town. All the rest of the vast continent was untouched, and for the most part unknown. No man had yet crossed it from one side to the other, and parts even of the coast were not fully explored. It was to examine a section of the coast-line, that of the north-west, that Grey was appointed in 1837.

He set out at the head of a few men and discovered some new facts about the country. But the natives were hostile,

and he had to turn back after being severely wounded by a prehistoric spear with a stone point. Grey could make nothing of these aborigines, who were among the most primitive peoples still surviving on the earth. With all other native races he had a talent for making friends. A second expedition in 1839 was even more unlucky. A hurricane



Australian warriors with spear and sword.

From a print of about 1800.

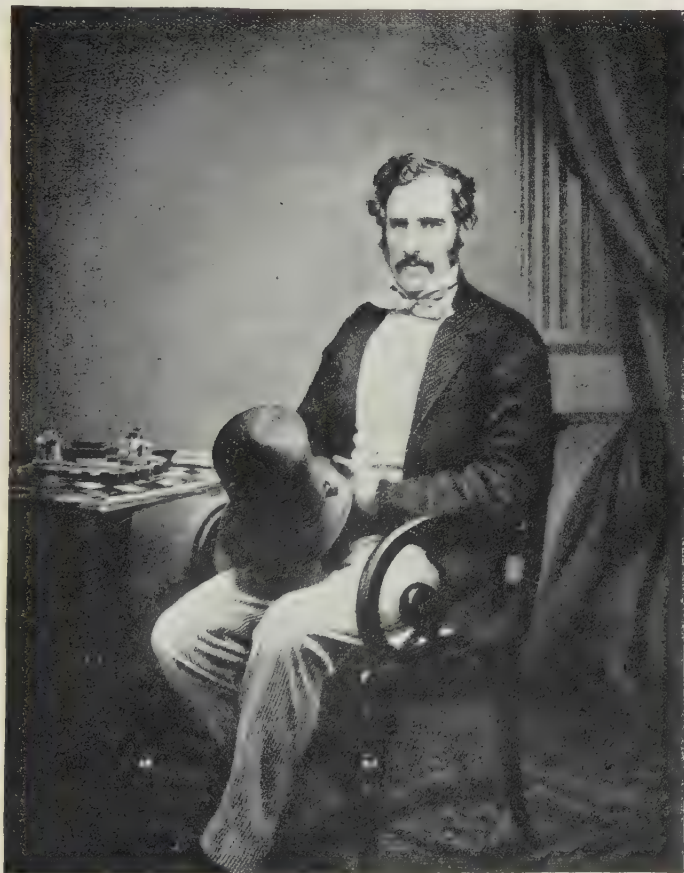
destroyed his party's food supply, and they had to make a hurried retreat to Perth—300 miles across barren country with practically nothing to eat. Every man fell by the way except Grey himself. He struggled on to Perth and sent back a search party, with the result that all were saved except one. After this he put in a year as Resident at King George's Sound, a tiny new settlement on the south-west coast.

The colony at Adelaide in South Australia was mainly the

work of Gibbon Wakefield, whom we have already seen assisting Lord Durham in Canada. Wakefield had formed a theory about the correct way of founding a new settlement. According to him there must be land, capital, and labour in due proportion. Of land there was plenty to spare, too much if freely distributed, because in that case every emigrant would want to be a landowner, and none would work for wages. Wakefield, therefore, laid it down that the Government must sell the land at a fairly high price to those who could afford to buy, and devote the money to paying the passages of the poorer emigrants who had nothing but their labour to contribute. So devised, the colony would be a well-balanced and prosperous society from the outset.

The scheme was undoubtedly sound, but unhappily it was not put carefully into practice. Wakefield quarrelled with the other promoters and broke off his connexion with the expedition before it sailed. A large body of picked men reached Adelaide (named after the wife of William IV) in 1836. They were well supplied with food and stores, and if they could have got to work at once all might have been well. But there had been no previous survey of the country, and so it was impossible to allot definite estates to those who had paid for them. The settlers camped at Adelaide and wasted their resources in idleness, while the officials tried to carry out the survey. Soon distress began to appear, and the poorer colonists to demand work or maintenance. The Governor, at his wits' end, pledged the future credit of the colony to obtain relief from New South Wales, and meanwhile undertook extravagant public works in order to find excuse for paying the unemployed. By 1841 the colony was bankrupt and facing starvation, while the colonists, convinced that they had been betrayed by those in charge, were showing a very ugly temper. It was a case for a new commander and a new policy, and the home authorities bethought themselves of Captain Grey of King George's Sound. So Grey went to Adelaide as Governor.

When he arrived he took a firm grasp of the situation. He found that some progress had been made with the survey,



SIR GEORGE GREY

and that the landowners were only held back by lack of labour. Labour had been demoralized by the high payments given on the relief works in Adelaide, and it had no desire

to go out and till the soil. Grey at once cut down the rates of payment to a point which rendered the relief work unattractive. By so doing he forced the labourers out of the town into the service of the farmers. He naturally became unpopular, and some of the grumblers went so far as to threaten his life. But unpopularity is a thing which all strong men have to face sooner or later if they are to do their duty, and Grey never allowed it to trouble him very much. He saved the colony by forcing it to earn its own living, instead of subsisting on borrowed money. When he came to Adelaide there were 2,500 acres under cultivation. A year later there were 20,000. From that time the colony never looked back. Its population, 15,000 in 1840, rose to over 50,000 by 1849. It speedily became devoted to its Governor, who on his side was not a man of pomp and uniforms, but a leader in the work of everyday life. The first harvest was a great success. Grey looked upon it as his own achievement, and worked in the fields with the others to get it in.

Meanwhile, in New Zealand a less simple problem was awaiting him. Cook had charted the coasts in 1770, and had found the country inhabited by a brave and intelligent native race, the Maoris, who lived under the rule of a number of chiefs, and were constantly at war with one another. For seventy years no European Government interfered with New Zealand, but during that time numerous unofficial white men began to settle there. The South Sea whalers often called to provision and refit. Members of their crews deserted, attracted by the free, adventurous life they could lead among the fighting tribes. Then traders began to appear, finding a ready market among the Maoris for rum, tobacco, and muskets. With these wares they made absurdly profitable bargains in buying land from the guileless chiefs. Still less desirable were certain other new-comers, vicious jail-birds, escaped from the chain-gangs of Sydney and Van Diemen's Land. Such men were bound to cause trouble wherever they went, and their arrival boded no good for the Maori tribes.

Finally, there were a few missionaries already at work in New Zealand, striving to undo the effects of the drink and gunpowder introduced by their fellow white men. By 1839 it was evident that a government must be set up or the country would be the scene of wild crimes and disorders. France already had her eye upon New Zealand, and Great Britain must act at once or lose the chance for ever.

Gibbon Wakefield and his friends were determined that no country but their own should colonize New Zealand. In 1839 they forced everybody's hand by forming the New Zealand Company and sending out 1,200 people to settle at Wellington on the shores of Cook Strait. This caused the Government to decide upon annexation, and early in 1840 Captain Hobson was sent to hoist the flag. Whilst doing so he made a treaty with the Maori tribes, by which they acknowledged themselves subjects of the Queen on a guarantee that they should not be disturbed in the ownership of their lands. If land was to be given up it should be bought at a fair price by representatives of the Government.

New Zealand is a most attractive country, with a climate not very different from that of England at its best. Settlers immediately began to flock to its shores and seek favourable lands on which to establish themselves. They naturally bought these lands as cheaply as they could, and found plenty of Maoris ready to sell. But there was a misunderstanding about the native law. The tribe as a unit owned the land, and the tribe alone had a right to sell it; a single man had no such right. Nevertheless, individual Maoris, covetous of the white man's wares, often pretended they had lands to dispose of, and actually sold what was not theirs. When matters came to be explained there was a conflict of interests. The colonists claimed that they had paid for the land, and it was theirs. The tribesmen claimed that they had never sold it, and appealed to the Treaty of 1840 as the charter of their rights. The New Zealand Company was the chief offender in these transactions. It was powerful at home,

and was able to overcome the scruples of the officials on the spot. Two or three weak Governors gave way to its pretensions, and the Maori chiefs, exasperated by what they thought unfair play, were ready for a general rising by 1845.

At this juncture the authorities decided to make Grey Governor of New Zealand. He received his orders unexpectedly and left South Australia without delay. Arriving in New Zealand, he found war beginning. The measures which he took cut it short. He stopped the supply of arms to the Maoris, a traffic which traders were still carrying on in spite of the danger to the colony. He promised also to remedy the land grievance. This conciliated the tribes which had not yet revolted. Upon those which had he fell with great vigour and soon taught them that, if the new Governor could be a kindly friend, he could also be a hard-smiting enemy. Eight months after his arrival peace was fully restored.

There was to be war again in later and less happy years, but from that time forward the Maoris liked and respected their Governor. One secret of his hold upon them was that he trusted them to act fairly by him. He travelled through the country, often without escort and always without any affectation of great state. On one occasion there was a discussion about running, and he challenged a native champion to a long distance race, beating him after a hard struggle. He was a believer in road making as a means of civilization. One old chief was very much averse to having a road through his territory. Grey sent him a present of a pony and gig, 'like the Governor's', and the old man changed his views completely, setting all his tribesmen to work on a new road whereon to practise driving. There was another side to the story, of course. It could not be expected that a Governor who ran races with his subjects would always find favour with the official minds of the Colonial Office in Downing Street. He had a way of pointing out their mistakes and absurdities, which did not endear him to them.

One of these occasions happened in 1848. The authorities were induced to frame a wonderful constitution for New Zealand whereby with a complicated system of elections



the Governor would be deprived of most of his power, and yet the colonists would not secure real political control. Grey scented in this a device by which interested parties hoped to reopen the land question and encroach upon the natives' rights. He simply refused to put the scheme into

action, and wrote home to say so. Two years afterwards Parliament acknowledged that he was right, and repealed its own Act. Nevertheless, Grey was no enemy to colonial liberty. In 1853 he took a leading share in drafting a more workable constitution, which was duly put into force. He also helped the settlers to obtain land by all fair means. There were very few Maoris in the South Island. In 1847 he arranged that these should all be bought out on fair terms. South Island was then completely free for colonization, and a few years saw the establishment of the flourishing provinces of Otago, Canterbury, and Invercargill. In December 1853 Grey's first governorship of New Zealand came to an end. His strong hand had delivered the colony from a great peril, and had set it on the road to prosperity. As in South Australia, he had begun with some unpopularity, but he left on excellent terms with the people of both races.

The Empire now has three great dominions in the southern hemisphere, and Grey was to play a part in the building of each. His next appointment was to be Governor of Cape Colony, an office which he took up in 1854. When he had first sailed southwards in 1837 the Cape Colony had been the only European settlement in South Africa. Since that date a British colony had been founded in Natal in 1843, but between the Cape and Natal there was a wide belt of unsubdued country, inhabited by Bantu tribes, and known as Kaffraria. The Cape itself had originally been settled by the Dutch East India Company in the seventeenth century. It had been captured by the British in the Napoleonic wars, and after 1820 a small stream of British colonists had gone out there. In 1836 the Dutch at the Cape became discontented with British rule—the abolition of slavery was one of their grievances—and moved off inland in what is known as the Great Trek. The trekkers pushed northwards, establishing the Orange Free State and the Transvaal, two Boer republics whose independence we acknowledged shortly before Grey became Governor. This, then, was the South Africa of his



CANTERBURY, New Zealand, in 1851. The picture shows Port Lyttelton, the landing-place for the Christchurch colony, with settlers landing and moving inland. From a drawing by William Fox.

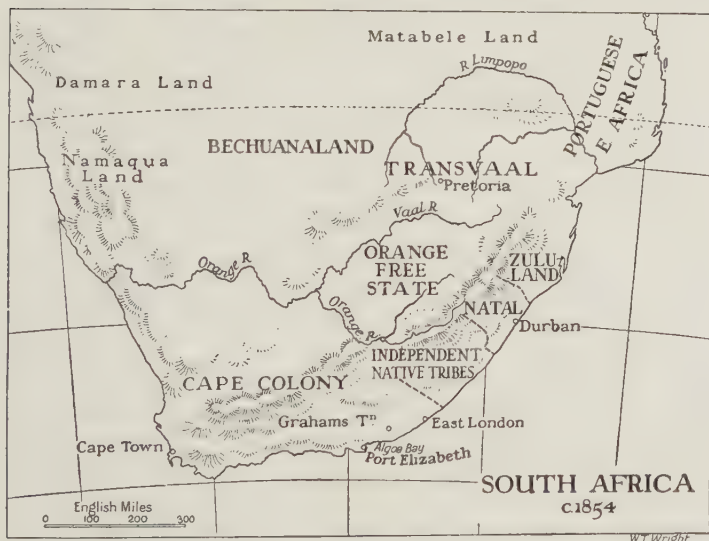
day—two British colonies on the coast, two Boer republics inland, and a large native population surrounding the whole.

Grey adopted the same policy in South Africa as in New Zealand. He made himself familiar with the daily life of the peoples of the country, white and black, and became personally known to them as a leader they could trust. Even the suspicious Boers who had trekked away out of British jurisdiction developed a liking for him, and it was only officials at home who prevented him from doing great things for South Africa.

Ere long he had a remarkable native crisis to deal with. A Kaffir girl in the independent region began to prophesy to her people, telling them that the spirits of their ancestors would return to earth bringing corn and cattle in abundance ; but first, as a sign of faith, they must destroy their own crops and herds. The Kaffirs obeyed these commands. A wave of madness swept the country, the unfortunate people killing their cattle and burning their corn and everything else by which they lived. The danger to the English settlements was great, for it was certain that when famine faced the Kaffirs they would seek to plunder their neighbours. Grey acted in time, calling out all his forces to guard the frontier, showing the starving blacks that violence was useless, and then doing his best to organize relief. None the less a terrible tragedy resulted, thousands dying of hunger. But the Kaffir tribes were so weakened that they gave no serious trouble thereafter, and Kaffraria has since been brought gradually under British control.

In 1857 an imperial calamity occurred to test Grey's statesmanship and breadth of view. News came to Cape Town from Bombay that the Indian Mutiny had broken out, and that a handful of Englishmen were struggling against overwhelming odds. There were then no ocean cables, and scarcely any steamers operating in southern latitudes. All news and orders travelled by very slow methods. The crisis demanded prompt action, and there was no time to send to London for

instructions. As it happened we had then a quarrel with China on our hands, and military forces were on the sea bound for that country. Just after the Indian news came in, there reached Cape Town a ship carrying the 93rd Highlanders for China. Grey, on his own responsibility, ordered these troops to Calcutta instead; and they arrived in time to carry out the relief of Lucknow, which otherwise would



certainly have fallen. For his country's good Grey risked his own career. For he knew little of the real situation in India, and if it had turned out that the troops were not needed he would undoubtedly have been punished for presumptuous meddling. A weaker man would have said, 'I have no orders', and let things take their course. No one would have blamed him—but a massacre of Lucknow would have been added to the massacre of Cawnpore. The Empire has not been built by men who wait for orders, although it may well be destroyed by them. Grey did more than this

for India. He sent every available soldier from the Cape itself, and put the Kaffir chiefs on their honour to behave themselves while the colony was unguarded. Had there been more men of his stamp in India there might have been no Mutiny.

One other notable transaction marked Grey's career in South Africa, and nearly brought it to a close. He was a man who had visions for the future, and one of these was a federation of South Africa, a combination of its four States under one Government. So far as South Africa was concerned the thing was quite possible; the obstacle lay in the ideas of statesmen at home. Among them the cry in those days was to avoid new responsibilities, and even to cut loose the colonies we had. Both Liberals and Conservatives held these views. Disraeli himself, afterwards an ardent imperialist, was then denouncing the colonies as 'a millstone about our necks' and 'useless deadweights which we did not govern'. Lord Durham had been dead for many a year, and at home no man had stepped into his place. Grey, however, was accustomed to taking his own line, and in 1858 he began to sound the Boers on the question of uniting South Africa. Those of the Orange Free State were willing and even eager. Those of the Transvaal were more cautious, but might well have been won over. But the Colonial Office took fright. 'No more responsibilities,' they said, and they vetoed the proposal. They had long been forming an opinion about Grey, and now they put it into words: 'He is a dangerous man.' Lord Carnarvon, who made this remark, lived to be Colonial Secretary twenty years later. Then he undertook fruitlessly to federate South Africa; but the time was past when that country could be united by any peaceful means, and two unhappy wars were needed to produce the result which Grey could have had for the asking in 1858.

So the dangerous man who had made two colonies and worthily served another was recalled for his pains. Before he reached home the Government had fallen and its successors

sent him back to the Cape with a caution to give no further trouble. There he remained for two years more until New Zealand called him once again.

New Zealand had gone steadily forward since the early days of the 'forties. She had now responsible government in accordance with the example of Canada. Settlement was progressing in both the North and South Islands. It was this which brought the Maori question to the front again. The savage, with his primitive and wasteful methods of agriculture, has always required a larger area of land for his support than civilized man has needed. White settlement in New Zealand had now reached a point at which the taking over of new stretches of land was essential. The Maoris still occupied the greater part of North Island, although their numbers were smaller than those of the whites. From the colonists' point of view it was therefore fair to demand a new division of the land ; if the Maori found himself straitened thereby he could become more industrious and put his share to better use.

A new Maori war began on this account in 1860, and in the following year Sir George Grey was transferred to New Zealand again by a Government which remembered his former brilliant handling of the problem. This time he was not successful in making peace, for there was no longer room in the country for the Maoris to continue their old warlike way of life. Responsible government also meant that the colonists had a voice in the decision of affairs, and the Governor could not be the autocrat he had been of yore. He was thus obliged to take the lead against the Maoris instead of being the mediator between them and the whites. The war smouldered on in a fitful manner until 1866, and there were isolated outbreaks as late as 1870. The end was inevitable, but the Maoris fought bravely on occasion, and inflicted reverses upon the troops. Grey became more and more at odds with the Home Government and with the regular officers in New Zealand. On one occasion he took the command

out of the general's hands and easily captured a position which the soldier had declared impregnable. These transactions gave deep offence at home. In 1868 the Colonial Secretary curtly wrote to Grey that his services would be no longer required. It was the end of his official career, and it reflected no credit upon those who brought it about.

Grey was not yet sixty, and in the prime of his long life. He came home to find every one pessimistic about the future of the Empire, and convinced that the new colonies must ultimately break away as the United States had done. He fought that idea strenuously, and was certainly one of the leaders in the remarkable change of thought which occurred at that time among English politicians—a change from despair to confidence in the destiny of the British peoples overseas. After a few years Grey went back again to New Zealand, as a private citizen, not as Governor. The people recognized their debt to him, and elected him to a seat in the colonial assembly. He long remained a prominent figure in New Zealand politics, taking the lead as Prime Minister from 1877 to 1879. At length in extreme old age he came home to pass his last days in London. There he witnessed Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee of 1897, the great festival of that Empire in whose making he had borne a part. It was sixty years since the Queen had mounted the throne, and sixty years also since Lieutenant Grey had sailed for unknown Australia. He died in 1898 at the age of eighty-six.

David Livingstone

V

DAVID LIVINGSTONE

the great Missionary

DAVID LIVINGSTONE, missionary and explorer, made known to civilization vast regions which before his time had been a mere blank upon the map. In many of these regions he was the destroyer of the slave trade, which was reducing the inhabitants to great misery. And in the course of his work, particularly in his closing years, he gave to mankind an example of pluck and perseverance which has seldom been surpassed.

He was born at Blantyre in Lanarkshire in 1813. At the age of ten he went to work in a cotton factory, but contrived to begin his own education in his spare time. As he grew older he was attracted to the service of the missionary movement which was then gaining a firm hold upon the imagination of his countrymen. He took a medical degree at Glasgow University, joined the London Missionary Society, and sailed for the Cape of Good Hope in 1840.

Missionary work was a comparatively new factor in the building of the Empire. There had been, it is true, a Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts founded in the Stuart period, but its work had not received very much public attention or support. But in the latter part of the eighteenth century there was a great revival of the sort of religious feeling which impelled a man, not merely to practise

his beliefs himself, but also to convert others to his own way of thinking. Mixed with this was the humane indignation against the bad treatment of weaker races, and the result was what our modern slang would call a missionary 'push'. Two great societies were founded for this work within a few years of one another, the London Missionary Society in 1795 and the Church Missionary Society in 1799.

Very quickly these bodies got to work. They sent out their men to New Zealand and the South Sea Islands, doing much to avert the destruction of the native races of those regions by the white adventurers who now began to crowd in upon them. We may estimate their achievement by comparing what happened in the West Indies under the old Empire with what has happened in the South Seas in our own time. In the West Indies the native Caribs, with no disinterested white men to take their part, were exterminated. In the South Seas the Polynesians, also a warlike and intelligent race, suffered a period of decay and degradation, but in many islands, notably in New Zealand, they seem now to have turned the corner and to be once more upon the up grade. We cannot doubt that, but for the missionaries and the views they have insisted upon, most of these South Sea islanders would ere now have been blotted out. In India the missionaries gained a footing after 1813, compelling the unwilling East India Company to grant them admission. In China they were becoming active, with less happy results, in Livingstone's early years. China was not perhaps a suitable field. Its people had a civilization of their own, and they were inclined to resent as an impertinence the preaching of Westerners, whom they regarded as barbarians. In the West Indies, as we have seen, missionary work led to a good deal of strife. It was inevitable that the owners of the slaves should be hostile to the men who were doing their utmost to kill slavery.

South Africa, when Livingstone reached it, had witnessed some of the least fortunate results of the movement. The

Boer farmers who had inhabited the Cape since the seventeenth century had their own ideas about the treatment of natives. To the Boer the black was an inferior, to be kept in order



DAVID LIVINGSTONE

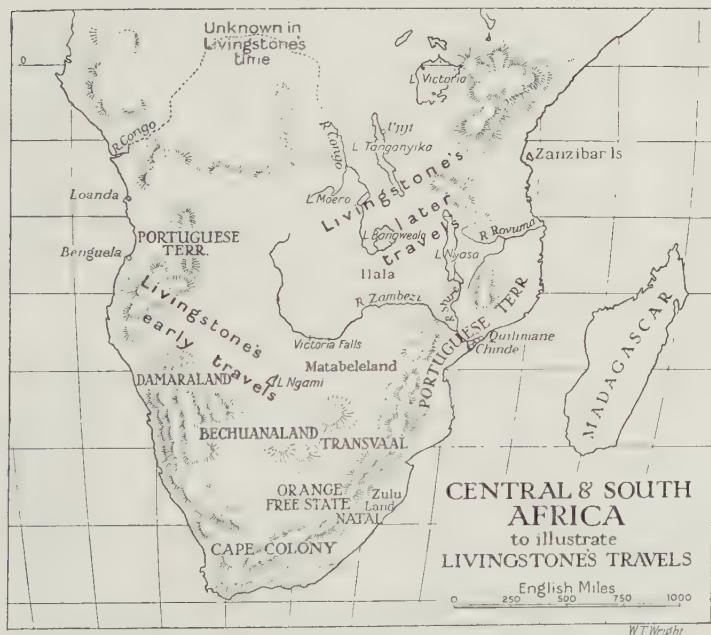
and made to work. The Boers kept Hottentot slaves on their farms, and they did not hesitate to use the whip and to shoot if there was any sign of trouble. Upon this scene came the missionaries, full of noble ambitions to lift up the

black men. But the Boer did not want the blacks lifted up, and he regarded as dangerous revolutionaries these new preachers who said that a Kaffir was as good as a white. In justice to the Boer (and to the British colonist also, who thought with him) it must be admitted that there was much to be said for this point of view. These white men were a mere handful in the midst of a great native population, and if they did not make themselves feared they might very likely see their farms burnt and their families massacred. The missionary, who came prepared for a life of self-sacrifice and a sudden death, did not sympathize enough with the ordinary man's feelings on the matter.

Accordingly, both sides lost their tempers, with evil results for South Africa. The missionaries were powerful at home, and there they painted the Boer as a monster of cruelty. The emancipation of the slaves in 1833-4 increased the ill feeling. It was bungled at the Cape, where few of the Boers received their proper share of compensation. In the following year there was a Kaffir invasion of the frontier districts. Many settlers were murdered, and the whole colony had to turn out in arms. Sir Benjamin d'Urban, the Governor, drove back the invading tribes and annexed some of their territory. But the missionaries persuaded the Colonial Office to forbid the annexation, and d'Urban resigned in disgust. This was the last straw to many of the Boers, who moved off in the Great Trek in 1836 to found the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. So South Africa became divided. It was to need a destructive war to re-unite it again, and the bitterness between the two white races is not fully allayed even yet.

When Livingstone reached the Cape he was sent up to Bechuanaland, to the west of the new Boer republics. There were no fixed frontiers in those days, and the Boers resented being followed up in this manner by their old enemies. They gave Livingstone a good deal of trouble, and on one occasion they destroyed his house and his papers in his absence.

Livingstone was always a pioneer, travelling far and wide, studying native ways, and opening new routes for others to follow. In 1849, with two other Englishmen, he discovered Lake Ngami in a country not hitherto reached by white men. Two years later he struck farther north still and discovered the Zambezi, the greatest river of southern Africa.



In 1853-4 he reached the Zambezi again, followed its course up stream, and then turned westwards through the Portuguese territory of Angola. The interior of this land, although claimed by the Portuguese, was quite unknown country. Livingstone was the first to traverse it. He suffered sickness and hardships, and came out on the west coast at Loanda. He could have had a passage home by sea, and no man had better earned an easy time. But he preferred to return to

Bechuanaland through the wilds, since without his guidance his native followers would have little chance of regaining their homes. In all these wanderings, besides attending to his missionary work, he was keen to acquire and note down all information of geographical and scientific value. He had learned to take latitudes and longitudes, and was always able to give an exact account of his route.

The Zambezi still attracted him. He had already followed it from its middle course up stream. He had now to see how it flowed downwards towards the sea. Early in 1856 he was solving this problem. It rewarded him with one of the grandest sights which has ever delighted an explorer's eyes—the Victoria Falls, greater than those of Niagara, and hitherto unknown to any white man. Thence he went down through unknown country and peoples until he reached Quilimane at the river's mouth. This was his first appearance on the east coast of Africa, which was henceforth to be the base of all his operations.

Livingstone returned to England at the close of 1856, to be received with great honour as already the foremost discoverer of his time. He had seen enough to know that the welfare of the African races, ever his chief care, demanded first of all the stoppage of the slave trade. It was not the West African slave trade carried on by Europeans; that had already been abolished by Wilberforce and the men of an earlier generation. In East and Central Africa the culprits were Arabs who held the ports of the coast and travelled far into the interior, plundering and murdering, and sometimes destroying the population of entire districts. The slaves taken by the Arabs were employed on the coast or shipped off to Arabia and Persia and other countries of the Near East. The slave raiders carried on their business in a recklessly wasteful manner; for every slave actually sold there were probably two or three other people wantonly murdered or killed by hunger and hard usage. Livingstone now made it his life's work to end these crimes. He saw that the first

task was to penetrate the afflicted country and blaze a trail for his successors to follow. The pioneer, in fact, had to precede the teaching missionary, and for pioneering there was no fitter man than himself. For this work it was needful that he should have complete liberty of action, and in 1857 he accordingly broke off his connexion with the London Missionary Society.

Next year Livingstone went out again to the mouth of the Zambezi, taking with him a small steamer in sections for use on the river. She was not a great success, for the Zambezi, although a mighty river, is much obstructed by rapids and shallows, and the steamer had too great a draught of water. In 1859 he followed the Shire River, which flows into the Zambezi from the north. Here again he was checked by rapids, falls, and hostile natives, but ultimately he made his way through the Shire highlands and discovered Lake Nyassa, the first of a series of great central African lakes which were to be revealed by him. After an attempt to penetrate the Rovuma River from the coast upwards, an attempt which did not at that time succeed, he went back to the Zambezi and Nyassa region. He found much slave raiding going on, and established a mission on the shores of the lake. The regions which he traversed have since been brought under civilized government as the Nyassaland Protectorate. He remained until 1864, and then came home once more.

In August 1865 Livingstone left England again, never to return alive. The last and longest of his journeys occupied more than seven years, during which he battled against greater hardships and made greater discoveries than any he had achieved before. His health also was failing, and save for one short period he had no white companion, trusting entirely to black followers, some of whom were faithful, while others were not.

Making Zanzibar his starting-point he sailed down the coast to the Rovuma River. This time he was successful in pushing far up its valley and thence descending the table-

land to the eastern shore of Lake Nyassa. He had with him a party of Indian sepoy, and also some camels which he hoped to bring safely through the districts where the bite of the tsetse fly is fatal to horses and oxen. But the experiment was not conclusive, for the sepoy so shamefully ill-used the camels that it was not possible to say whether they died of that or of the tsetse bites. At any rate they died, and the sepoy proved themselves so useless and troublesome that Livingstone had to send them back to the coast and go on without them. He found native Africans much more trustworthy. On the way up to Nyassa the party met with many examples of the slavers' brutality. Livingstone's Journal remarks: 'We passed a slave woman shot or stabbed and lying on the path: the people said an Arab who passed early that morning had done it in anger at losing the price he had given for her, because she was unable to walk any longer.' Next day the record continues: 'To-day we came upon a man dead from starvation, as he was very thin. One of our men wandered and found a number of slaves with slave-sticks on, abandoned by their master from want of food; they were too weak to be able to speak or say where they had come from; some were quite young.' Entries like this are very numerous, and show the greatness of the evil which Livingstone was bent upon stamping out.

He passed round the southern end of the lake and pushed on into new country westwards. The march now became very difficult, for there was hardly anything to eat. The Christmas dinner of 1866 consisted of 'a little indigestible porridge, of scarcely any taste . . . it makes me dream of better'. After crossing the Loangwa River he changed his direction northwards in search of Lake Tanganyika, of which he had heard reports. He was dangerously ill by the time he reached it, barely able to stagger along, but the Journal gives the exact observations of the latitude, longitude, and height above sea level; and it notes also the surpassing beauty of the scenery. Some of the bearers deserted with



Fettered slaves left to die because they could march no longer. From Livingstone's *Last Journals*, vol. i, 1874.

their loads, including the medicines which were the only defence against malarial fevers. These people afterwards spread the rumour that Livingstone was dead. He was very nearly dead, but he had no thought of abandoning the journey as long as life was in him.

From the southern end of Tanganyika he pushed westward to Lake Moero, which he reached at the end of 1867. From that region he wrote a long dispatch to Lord Clarendon, but found no opportunity of sending it off. He was struck with the vast network of lakes and rivers in this country, and determined to solve the problem of the direction in which all this water flowed. He thought it might be one of the sources of the Nile, although afterwards it was shown to be the headwaters of part of the Congo system. Geographers had no idea at this time of the length and volume of the Congo—on the maps it appears as a minor river, known only for a short distance upwards from its mouth. South of Moero he heard of another lake called Bangweolo, towards which he set out in the middle of 1868. Before reaching it he was able to send off letters to the coast by some Arab traders. In particular he asked the British Consul at Zanzibar to send up to Lake Tanganyika a stock of food and writing materials, and cloth with which to buy the services of the natives. On 18th July, 1868, Livingstone discovered Lake Bangweolo. His Journal goes into none of the transports of self-admiration with which some travellers have recorded such achievements. He merely says, 'I walked a little way out of the village and saw the shores of the Lake for the first time, thankful that I had come safely hither.' The inland sea thus coolly recorded is larger than most English counties. The next entries are about bargaining for a canoe.

Lake Bangweolo was beautiful, but surrounded by difficult country, very swampy and spongy. Livingstone here became very ill again and determined that he must go back to Tanganyika to meet the supplies for which he had sent. Early in 1869 he began the journey, so weak that for the

first time in his travels he had to be carried by his faithful Africans. At length he reached the Lake and crossed in a canoe to the eastern shore. Here there was a place called Ujiji, frequented by Arab traders who came up from Zanzibar. His goods had been entrusted to these people, but they had stolen most of them on the way. However, he found a little tea, coffee, and flannel clothing, which helped to restore his health.



LIVINGSTONE ambushed in the jungle.

From Last Journals, vol. ii, 1874.

From Tanganyika he pushed again into a new country north-westwards to explore the River Lualaba, which is really one of the chief feeders of the Congo. Livingstone, from what he heard from the natives, began to suspect that this might be so, but he was unable to find out enough to make sure. The country was one of the worst in which he had been, penetrated in all directions by murdering Arab slave-raiders, its own tribes always at war and given over to bloodshed and cannibalism. He himself saw a band of Arabs commit a wholesale massacre at a village where a market was being held. The sight filled him with horror and brought

on a severe attack of illness. He was powerless to interfere, and was dependent upon those very murderers for his own supplies. Since they knew what he thought of them it is surprising that they did not kill him as well.

Indirectly they did almost kill him. On the way back to Tanganyika, after a year in this awful region, Livingstone's party was mistaken for a gang of slave-raiders. The people who had suffered from the Arabs laid an ambushade in the forest, and the end nearly came :

‘ Nothing could be detected, but by stooping down to the earth and peering up towards the sun, a dark shade could sometimes be seen : this was an infuriated savage, and a slight rustle in the dense vegetation meant a spear. A large spear from my right lunged past and almost grazed my back, and stuck firmly into the soil. As they are expert with the spear I don't know how it missed, except that he was too sure of his aim and the good hand of God was upon me.

‘ I was behind the main body, and all were allowed to pass till I, the leader, who was believed to be Mohamad Bogharib, or Kolokolo himself, came up to the point where they lay. A red jacket they had formerly seen me wearing was proof to them that I was the same that sent to kill five of their men, capture eleven women and children, and twenty-five goats. Another spear was thrown at me by an unseen assailant, and it missed me by about a foot in front. Nothing could be seen, but we heard the men jeering and denouncing us close by : two of our party were slain. We had five hours of running the gauntlet waylaid by spearmen, who all felt that if they killed me they would be avenging the death of relations. When at last we got out of the forest and crossed the river on to the cleared lands near the villages, we lay down to rest.’

He came back to Ujiji on Lake Tanganyika in 1871 to find that the Arabs there had stolen all the remainder of his goods. He was again very ill, and had counted on obtaining some nourishing food at this place, and he arrived only to find himself reduced to beggary. The prospect was indeed black, but after all these awful years relief was drawing near. We may tell the story in Livingstone's own words :

‘ But when my spirits were at the lowest ebb the good

Samaritan was close at hand, for one morning Susi came running at the top of his speed and gasped out, "An Englishman! I see him!" and off he darted to meet him. The American flag at the head of a caravan told of the nationality of the stranger. Bales of goods, baths of tin, huge kettles, cooking pots, tents, made me think, "This must be a luxurious traveller, not one at his wits' end like me."

Poor Livingstone had not seen a bath or a tent or a civilized man for years, and the effect must have been overwhelming. Yet his iron nerve saved him from breaking down, and he greeted the new-comer in a quiet and dignified manner, almost as if they had met on an English roadside. It was Henry Morton Stanley, afterwards the explorer of the great Congo basin. Unknown to Livingstone the whole white world was deeply anxious about his fate, and James Gordon Bennett, the proprietor of the *New York Herald*, had sent out Stanley to obtain news of him.

Stanley's arrival filled him with new life and hope. But it was in vain that the younger man urged him to return to England. Livingstone was now close on sixty years of age, his body scarred and wasted by the ghastly diseases of the African jungle, his spirit shaken by the things he had seen. But, though shaken, he was not broken, and he determined to persevere to the end with the work he had begun. He knew that this country could only be saved by the spread of knowledge, and on him the task had fallen of letting in the light. Its condition to-day, so different from the horrors of fifty years ago, is the reward of the price he paid to redeem it. Stanley stayed with him for six months, and then unwillingly left him once more alone. When they parted Livingstone looked for the last time upon a white man's face.

The old traveller plunged once more into the broken country north of Lake Bangweolo, his mind still running upon plans for establishing missionary outposts. The weary tribal warfare and the slave raids continued. Some men would have grown callous at the sight of all this misery, but not so Living-

stone : ' The slaving scenes come back unbidden, and make me start up at dead of night horrified by their vividness.' He had none of the vulgar spirit of the conqueror, anxious to wave the flag for the mere boast of domination. He saw only the simple fact that it was the white man's duty to take charge of these benighted lands for their own good. One might think that none could doubt it after reading his *Journals*. And yet, even to-day, there are still people who tell us that the extension of the British Empire is a bad and immoral thing, and that we ought to abandon our trust without delay.

Livingstone had now not far to go. On his last marches in the early months of 1873 he was continually ill, carried painfully by his followers through a difficult country. He had strength on most days to note the dates in his journal, but nothing more. The last entry, that of April 27, is a murmur of broken words : ' Knocked up quite, and remain—recover—sent to buy milch goats. We are on the banks of the Molilamo.' Three days later he died at the village of Ilala.

His faithful natives embalmed the body and carried it with great difficulty down to the coast. From Zanzibar it was sent to England and buried in Westminster Abbey on 18th April, 1874.



VI

SIR HENRY AND SIR JOHN LAWRENCE

Makers of Modern India

BRITISH supremacy in India was almost complete except in the north-west when the Marquess Wellesley left the country in 1805. The home authorities had not allowed him to complete the subjugation of the Maratha princes, but his successor, the Marquess of Hastings, dealt finally with them in 1817-18. Thenceforward the affairs of the north-west region, towards the river Indus and the Afghan mountains, offered the principal field of action. But a long interval elapsed before any crisis arose in that direction. During that interval British power consolidated itself throughout the length and breadth of India, a new generation of officials training themselves in the new duties of government and supervision which Wellesley's conquests had thrust upon them. The East India Company's servants were now chiefly engaged in ruling India rather than in trading with its peoples as their forerunners had done in the eighteenth century. The change was expressed in the renewals of the Company's charter. In 1813 it lost its exclusive right of commerce, private merchants being admitted to the country. In 1833 it ceased to be a trading body altogether, devoting itself thenceforward solely to government. The Company had now a great army, a small fleet, and a civil service of its own. Its officers had long ceased to be of the self-seeking fortune-hunting type which had been

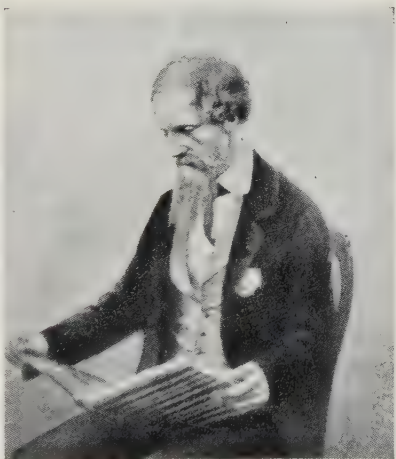
common in earlier days. They made not a penny beyond their salaries and regarded themselves as primarily the servants of India engaged in the performance of an honourable trust.

After the fall of the Marathas the British peace prevailed, much to the benefit of the industrious millions of India. But beyond the north-west border the seeds of war lingered. The fierce Afghans had always been a disturbing force, accustomed to send forth their adventurers to carve out fortunes and principalities for themselves in India. They had now withdrawn within their mountains, having less chance to create disturbance now that a strong military power held the peninsula. But behind them lurked a graver menace. Russia was steadily advancing her dominions southward. Already her agents were in touch with Persia and Afghanistan, and a suspicion arose that she meant one day to challenge the British in India. Afghanistan was the buffer state. As a friend to Russia she could assist, as a friend to England she could withstand, this suspected design. British India did not yet border directly upon Afghanistan. Between them lay the basin of the Indus and its tributaries. The southern part towards the sea was called Sind, a region whose chiefs were vassals of the Afghan Amir. The northern and more populous part was the Punjab, the land of the five rivers. Here a strong native power grew up at the opening of the nineteenth century. It was the creation of Ranjit Singh, a prince of the Sikhs. He organized the Sikhs into a warrior caste, maintaining a well-drilled army and dominating the other peoples of the country. By a series of wars he held off the Afghans and their allies, but he remained always on good terms with the British, content to remain within his borders so long as they did not interfere with him. He died in 1839, leaving no capable successor.

The stage was thus set for important events. After a generation of peace British India was once more to see a period of war, and British power was to be challenged more seriously

than ever before. Amongst the men who weathered the storm none was to do more notable work than the two brothers with whom this chapter is concerned.

Henry Lawrence was born in Ceylon in 1806, and John Lawrence in England in 1811. Their father was a veteran officer who had fought under Wellesley at Seringapatam. In 1823 Henry obtained a commission in the Bengal Artillery, and almost immediately saw service in the Burma war. He suffered so badly from fever that he had to take a long spell of leave in England to recover his health. In 1830 he returned to India with his brother John, who had just passed into the civil department of the Company's service. John Lawrence spent a bad year at Calcutta, then a depressing and unhealthy place, after which he was sent up to work on the land revenue in the Delhi region, where he remained for seven years.



SIR HENRY LAWRENCE

Henry Lawrence also was attached to the revenue survey during this period. Both of them benefited by the experience, gaining a knowledge of native life and a sympathy for the peasant's hardships, such as few Englishmen at that time displayed. John is described at this time as 'a vehement, swift-riding man, with an honest and eager face, careless of dress and appearances—who seemed never to count any work too hard, or to think any duty too little to be done with his own hand—who knew every man in the place and every inch of his district, its condition, its capabilities, its resources, and its requirements'.

In 1839 the war clouds began to gather in the north-west. Russian forces were on the frontier of Afghanistan, and Russian agents made an alliance with the Amir Dost Mohammed. British India became alarmed, for every one in those days regarded Russia as a giant of incalculable strength—it remained for the Great War of our own time to reveal the colossus as an overgrown pumpkin which flew in pieces at the first vigorous kick. The Government, therefore, decided upon a bold adventure, which turned out to be a most unwise one. It sent a British force into Afghanistan to dethrone Dost Mohammed and set up in his place Shah Shujah, a claimant favourable to the English. It was the policy which Dupleix and his rivals had tried with success in the Carnatic many years before. But in Afghanistan the conditions were different. The country was remote and mountainous; to reach it our forces had to pass through Sind or the Punjab, neither of which was British territory; and the Afghans themselves were hardy fighting men, not at all disposed meekly to accept a ruler from without.

At first, however, all went well. The British expedition passed through Sind and occupied Kabul, the capital of Afghanistan. It dethroned Dost Mohammed and sent him a prisoner to India, and it set up the British claimant as Amir. Then, according to the programme, the work was done, and the troops should have withdrawn. But they could not withdraw, for it was evident that without their protection the new Amir would not last a month; he had no hold whatever upon his subjects. So for two years (1839–41) the army remained in Afghanistan, the people growing more restive and disorderly as time went on. Rebel chiefs took up arms, British officers were murdered whilst trying to negotiate with them, and at length Kabul was in a state of siege, hundreds of miles from any effective aid. Towards the close of 1841 the British commander decided to evacuate the country. The rebel chiefs agreed to let him go in peace, but demanded that some of the officers and their wives should



A Bengal army on the march, early 19th century. From a print in the United Services Museum

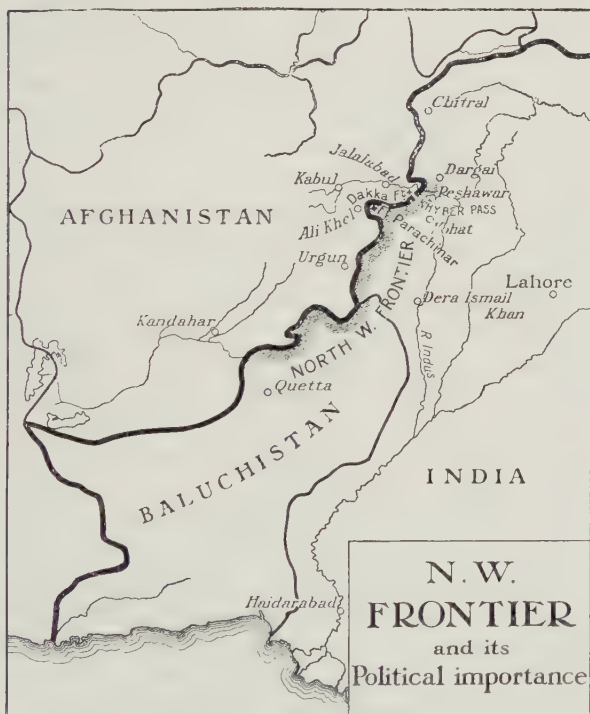
be given up as hostages. These people were destined to be the only survivors, with one other, of the whole expedition. In December the march began through the mountain passes towards the Punjab plain. The column contained about 4,000 soldiers, mostly sepoy, and 12,000 camp followers, women and other non-combatants. Seeing its helpless condition the Afghans harassed it at every turn of the difficult country, ultimately wiping out every person but one. He, a medical officer named Brydon, arrived alone at the first frontier post held by the British.

Such was the result of the first attempt to control Afghanistan. Something was done to restore prestige and recover the hostages, but in the main failure had to be admitted. British columns therefore re-entered the country in 1842, and after winning some actions in the field and setting their fellow countrymen at liberty, they withdrew altogether to India. In 1843, however, we took possession of Sind, hitherto an Afghan dependency.

During this war Henry Lawrence gained some useful experience of the Sikhs, the people amongst whom he was afterwards to do notable work. In January 1839 he was made political officer on the Punjab frontier. His task was to keep loyal and in good humour the independent Sikh princes on the British side of the river Sutlej. He accomplished this skilfully for two years, and in 1842 he led a force of Sikhs in the final campaign, receiving the thanks of the Commander-in-chief for his services. John Lawrence was in England on sick leave during the greater part of these events.

The unfortunate Afghan adventure gave the Sikhs a poor impression of British statesmanship and generalship. Ranjit Singh had made them a nation of soldiers. He had employed European officers to drill them to a high state of efficiency, and he had acquired a large number of heavy guns which his men knew how to use. But his death left the Punjab without a ruler. Courtiers and generals intrigued for power, there were palace plots and assassinations, and the army grew

every day more mutinous and disorderly. As often happens in such circumstances, the masterless troops sought an outlet for their energy in attacking the neighbouring states. The Sikhs thought themselves invincible, and they despised the



British. Towards the end of 1845 they crossed the Sutlej, expecting to carry fire and sword through northern India and to fill their pockets with the plunder of Delhi and the rich cities of the Ganges plain.

The British armies had to fight harder than they had ever fought before on Indian soil. At the two terrible battles of Mudki and Ferozshah Lord Gough just managed to hold the

Sikhs in check with great loss to his own troops. Next year, 1846, reinforcements came up, and Gough won the decisive victory of Sobraon, by which he drove the enemy back in disorder into the Punjab. The politicians and courtiers at Lahore (the capital) now sued for peace, secretly pleased at the humiliation of their formidable soldiery. It was arranged that a frontier district should be ceded to the Company, an indemnity paid, and that the infant heir to the throne should be kept under British protection. For this purpose it was necessary for British officers to reside at Lahore and other places in the country.

Henry Lawrence had been in Nepal at the beginning of the war, but was recalled to take the place of an officer killed at Firozshah. John Lawrence at Delhi did good work in organizing supplies for the army in 1846. At the close of the war the Governor-General appointed Henry to be British Agent and Resident at Lahore, and John to be Commissioner for the district newly ceded to the Company by the Sikhs. Henry Lawrence's position made him virtually the ruler of the Punjab—for so long, that is, as the peace continued to be kept. Before many months elapsed it became evident that further trouble lurked in the future. The Sikh politicians were discontented under British control, whilst the soldiers were not satisfied with their beating in 1846. They began to think that luck had been against them, and that they might do better another time. Henry Lawrence might have avoided a new outbreak, but his health gave way towards the close of 1847, and he had to return to England. John Lawrence took his place for a time, and was superseded in March 1848 by another officer, he himself going back to his ceded district.

In the summer of that year the explosion came. Two British officers, going on duty to Multan, were murdered there by the local soldiery. The crime was the signal for a general rebellion. It was not promptly dealt with owing to the hot season being difficult for the movement of British

troops. When the cooler weather came Lord Gough had to take the field against a powerful Sikh army. A hard-fought battle at Chilianwala resulted in the enemy inflicting heavy losses upon Gough without being decisively beaten. Three regiments lost their colours, and there was some talk of Gough's being deprived of the command. Before that could happen, however, he finished the war at a stroke by the brilliant victory of Gujrat (1849). In John Lawrence's district there had been some attempt at a rebellion during these events. But he quickly gathered a force and nipped the affair in the bud. As he marched rapidly through the country he collected the village headmen and showed them a pen and a sword, asking them by which they would be governed. The actual sight of these objects made a more vivid appeal than much oratory would have done, and all chose the pen. Meanwhile Henry Lawrence in England had received a knighthood for his services. On hearing of the new war he hastened to India again, and arrived in time to fight at Chilianwala.

Lord Dalhousie, the new Governor-General, decided that the attempt to make the Punjab a protectorate had been a mistake. He recommended the Government to annex the country outright, and this was accordingly done when the second war came to an end in 1849. British India now extended right up to the Afghan mountains, a 'natural' frontier towards which expansion had been inevitable from the days when Clive had taken possession of Bengal. All the Indian wars since that time had been due to the fact that there had been no well-marked borderline behind which the British peace could rest secure. The settlement of one region had always led to conflict with the disorderly forces in the next. But the mountain frontier, difficult for armies to pass in strength, enabled a halt to be called.

The Lawrences, as men who had already proved themselves in dealing with the Punjab, now took a prominent place in its affairs. Sir Henry was appointed head of the

Council of three governing the province, whilst John was also made a member. Between them they accomplished a great work, that of making a conquered enemy country in a very few years the most loyal province of the Indian Empire. Of their doings it has been said that Henry pacified while John organized. Although they differed on some points they were at one in desiring to treat the people considerately. Sir Henry wrote : ' In a new country, especially a wild one, promptness, accessibility, brevity and kindness are the best engines of government. Have as few forms as possible and as are consistent with a brief record of proceedings. Be considerate and kind, not expecting too much from ignorant people. Make no change unless certain of decided improvement.' John Lawrence certainly carried out these instructions. In a proclamation to a discontented district, he said : ' What is your injury I consider mine ; what is gain to you I consider my gain ; return to me, as children who have committed a fault return to their parents, and their faults will be forgiven them.' These were words which could be understood by the simple people to whom they were addressed, and they were sincerely meant.

It has often been said that a country is happy which has no history, since history deals more commonly with wars and calamities than with peaceful progress. In this sense there is very little history to be recorded of the Punjab in the eight years after its conquest. But the steady improvement which went on was revealed in the next time of trial which befell British India. In 1852 there was a change in the Punjab government. Sir Henry Lawrence was transferred to the province of Rajputana, and his brother succeeded to his command with the title of Chief Commissioner. The fact that the soldier thus gave way to the civilian was a sign that the work of pacification had made great strides.

Although future events were hidden from the Lawrences they were in these years doing more than serve the Punjab. They were, unknown to themselves, saving British India.

The time was one of change throughout the country. The science of Europe was making its appearance in the guise of railways and telegraphs and new weapons of war. Lord Dalhousie, the Governor-General, was an enthusiastic reformer of all kinds of abuses, and reformers are not always patient of the ideas of people who do not advance as rapidly as themselves. In particular he was convinced that the native state, ruled by its own prince, was a bad thing for its subjects, and that whenever possible native states ought to be annexed and placed under the Company's officers. So he had annexed the Punjab almost as soon as he had arrived in India, and in the succeeding years he annexed a number of smaller states when their rulers died without leaving children of their own. This gave deep offence, because Indian custom had always allowed a childless prince to adopt an heir, whose right to succeed had been reckoned perfectly legal. Finally, just before leaving India Dalhousie made another great annexation. It will be remembered that Wellesley had reduced the size of the kingdom of Oudh, on account of its ruler's misgovernment. After a time the misgovernment had grown worse than ever, the whole peasantry being plundered by the court and the disorderly rabble which passed for an army. In 1856, Dalhousie, tired of warnings, decided to act. He declared that 'the British government would be guilty in the sight of God and man' if it allowed the misrule to continue; and he dethroned the king and annexed Oudh forthwith. Sir Henry Lawrence was sent from Rajputana to rule the new province.

Dalhousie's annexations gave rise to much discontent, and it would have been wise to keep a watchful eye upon the condition of the army. That condition gave thoughtful men, Sir Henry Lawrence among them, cause for alarm. In 1857 there were in India 39,000 British soldiers and 311,000 sepoys, a proportion of one to eight. The native troops were organized in three armies, those of Bengal, Bombay, and Madras. The Bengal army was the most numerous, containing 137,000

men. It was quartered over the whole of Northern India, from Calcutta up the Ganges valley to Delhi and the Punjab ; and it was among these men that serious discontent, and a certain contempt for their British commanders, was beginning to show itself. The lowering of their esteem for the British was due to the weakness shown by certain generals in the Afghan and Sikh campaigns, and also to the fact that losses among the British regiments had not properly been made good—there had never before been so many native and so few British soldiers under the Company's flag. The discontent arose out of the fact that Indians in the army were never allowed to rise to high rank, that the men had now to serve overseas if required, and that there was a general suspicion that the British intended to make converts to Christianity by unscrupulous means.

In the early months of 1857 mysterious travellers began to go round the cantonments of the Indian army, spreading sedition and prophesying a great upheaval. Disloyal letters and proclamations passed hither and thither ; there was a mystic ceremony, none knows by whom started, of distributing little cakes of which the recipient was commanded to eat one and then to make three others and pass them on ; and excited soldiers held midnight meetings, at which they conspired against their officers and sometimes destroyed government property. These were symptoms of a trouble which might perhaps have come to nothing, but for a tactless proceeding on the part of the authorities. They introduced the new Enfield rifle with a new type of cartridge. Rifles in those days were still muzzle loaders. The cartridge was of stout paper, greased to resist damp, and it contained the charge of black powder and a leaden bullet. The soldier had to bite open the end of the cartridge, pour the powder down the muzzle of his piece, and then ram home the bullet and the torn paper, which acted as a wad to keep all in place. The mischief-makers instantly spread the report that these new cartridges were greased with a mixture of cow's and pig's

fat. The Hindu, to whom the cow was a sacred animal, was forbidden by his religion to taste any part of it, whilst the Mohammedan, as is well known, is defiled if he touches the pig. Discontent among all classes of soldiers rose to boiling-point. Here, they said, was a definite and cunning plan to destroy their religion, and it confirmed all their old suspicions. We know, although they did not, that to ascribe any such intention to British officials was absurd. But, unfortunately, the fact of the offensive grease seems to have been true ; at least the authorities could not or would not disprove it. It was sheer want of tact and imagination on somebody's part.

The unrest among the sepoys was observed by many, but few of their officers seem to have expected a rebellion. Rebellion nevertheless began on 10th May at Meerut, a military camp not far from Delhi. The mutineers murdered their officers and marched off to the city, which had been in former days the capital of the Mogul Empire. There they found a representative of the ancient line of emperors, an aged man living in retirement upon a British pension. They dragged him forth and set him upon the throne, proclaiming the revival of the Empire. The possession of Delhi and the Mogul gave the mutineers a national cause and a rallying point. The fate of the whole great Mutiny depended on the fate of the city. If the British could retake it they could smash the Mutiny ; if not, they would lose Northern India.

Sir Henry Lawrence at Lucknow, the capital of Oudh, understood these things. He was one of the few who had foreseen the outbreak, and he had been quietly taking his measures in advance. When Oudh rose, as it did a short while after Meerut, he had his little force in a defensible position in the Residency of Lucknow, well entrenched and provisioned for a long siege. It was well that he had been alert, for the defence of Lucknow not only saved the lives of most of the Europeans in Oudh, but also kept in play a huge force of mutineers who would otherwise have been fighting

for Delhi. At Cawnpore, on the other hand, the British commander was surprised. The rising found him in a bad position, unprovisioned and short of water. After much suffering his force had to surrender, and the mutineers not only massacred the men, but afterwards the women and children as well, in spite of having given a promise to convey them to a place of safety. The author of the Cawnpore atrocity was Nana Sahib, a man of good standing, who had visited England and moved in fashionable society.

At Lucknow Sir Henry Lawrence was confident of making a good defence, nor did his followers disappoint his trust. But he himself was not destined to see the end. In the early days of the siege he was resting on his bed after making his rounds, when a shell came through the wall and burst in the room. He was fatally wounded, and died a few days later, giving all his thoughts to the last to the business of the defence. The tradition of Nelson was strong in him ; and on his tomb, by his own request, they inscribed : ‘ Here lies Henry Lawrence who tried to do his duty.’

The Punjab was the deciding factor in the suppression of the Mutiny. Had it revolted like Oudh everything would have gone, right down to the Ganges delta. But it did not revolt ; instead it sent forces for the recapture of Delhi. Sir John Lawrence (knighted just before the outbreak) reaped the reward of his eight years’ labours. The people were reconciled to British rule, and knew they were better off than in the troubled times which had gone before. Most of them thought, however, that British rule was coming to an end, and at first they were a little backward to serve. But even that was enough. Sir John paraded the Bengal regiments at Lahore, on the point of joining the Mutiny, confronted them with a few British soldiers and a battery of guns, and forced them to lay down their arms. He suppressed certain newspapers, stopped all seditious letters in the post, and prevented suspected characters from moving about the country. He commanded all British officials to



THE INDIAN MUTINY. The storming of Delhi. The Kashmir Gate, 1857.

By permission of the Editor of *The Illustrated London News*.

go about their work as usual, keeping a cheerful countenance, and behaving as if all were well.

Securing the Punjab was only the first step. The next was to take Delhi. Within a week Sir John had a force in the field, and before a month had gone by from the outbreak at Meerut the siege of Delhi was beginning. It was one of the strangest sieges in history. Forty thousand mutineers, well armed and trained, defended a strongly walled city against assailants who at first did not number more than five thousand. To surround the place was impossible. All that the British could do at first was to guard their camp on the Ridge outside and wait for reinforcements. Heat, disease, hunger, and attacks took a terrible toll upon the Ridge, but all through the summer the survivors held on. Lawrence in the Punjab worked hard to raise money and men. In September he reinforced the camp at Delhi sufficiently for an assault to be made upon the gates. Even then it needed a week's fighting in the streets before the last rebels fled.

In the same month Sir Henry Havelock brought help to Lucknow, but he was not strong enough to drive its assailants away. That was done finally by Sir Colin Campbell at the end of the year. The capture of Delhi and the defence of Lucknow broke the Mutiny, and for these successes the Lawrences, more than any other men, were responsible. In dealing with the rebels Sir John was severe as long as the issue remained in doubt. Afterwards there were many who would have gone on killing for mere vengeance—they had cause enough, considering the murders of so many of their friends and kinsmen. But Sir John Lawrence called for moderation, 'There is a judge', he said, 'over both them and us.'

The Mutiny was the closing event in the life of the East India Company. Queen Elizabeth had first chartered it in 1600; in 1858 Parliament transferred all its rights to the Crown, and Queen Victoria became the direct sovereign of India. She took the title of Empress twenty years later.

Since those days India has been well governed, and many of the old mistakes have been avoided. In particular, there have been no more annexations of native territories. In the reconstruction after the great conflict Sir John Lawrence bore his part, governing the Punjab for a further period, and then serving for six years as Viceroy of all India. At the conclusion of his term of office he was created Lord Lawrence. He died in England in 1879.



THE ACCESSION OF THE QUEEN OF INDIA.

Punch of 11th Sept. 1858.



VII. CECIL RHODES

and the Expansion of British South Africa

THE subject of this chapter is a type of man different from the makers of the modern Empire whose careers we have already considered. All of these devoted the whole of their lives to the public service, either in official positions, like Sir George Grey and the Lawrences, or unofficially, like Wilberforce and Livingstone. Rhodes, on the other hand, was a mixture of the business man piling up a huge fortune for himself, and the statesman working for the interests of his country. He did both with great success, but there came a time when he laid himself open to the charge of having taken a public action for selfish reasons, committing an error which threw a cloud over his later years. It would perhaps have been better for his fame and happiness if he had served the state alone. His brilliant genius would have raised him to the topmost place in any surroundings.

Cecil John Rhodes was born at Bishop's Stortford in Hertfordshire in 1853. He was one of a large family, and when his health broke down at the time he left school it was decided to send him out to Natal, where an elder brother was already settled. It was in 1870 that he arrived in the colony, then a sparsely peopled and undeveloped region. For a little more than a year the brothers carried on a small cotton plantation, but they gave it up on hearing a piece of

news which attracted world-wide attention to South Africa. This was the discovery of a diamond field at Kimberley in Griqualand West, on the borders of the Orange Free State. Like many other colonists they sold their estate, piled all



CECIL RHODES

their movable property upon wagons, and trekked off hundreds of miles across country to try their fortune as miners. They worked a claim successfully and made a certain amount of money, although as yet no startling riches.

Cecil Rhodes now showed a side of his character which assorts oddly with the practical qualities that brought success in a rough mining community. He had always regretted that

ill health had cut short his education, and he determined, now he could afford it, to come home and go to Oxford. In 1873 accordingly he became an undergraduate, but before the first winter was over he again fell so ill that a doctor who examined him concluded he had not six months to live. He went back to Kimberley and soon recovered. On the Oxford question he was not to be beaten. At intervals between 1876 and 1881 he put in the necessary time there, and finally took his degree. During the other half of this double career he was rising to a prominent place in South African affairs, so that whilst yet an undergraduate he was the creator of an extensive business and a member of the Cape Parliament.

His business operations consisted in the concentration in a few hands of the numerous small claims which covered the diamond field. He saw that if an unlimited number of diamonds were produced the price would fall heavily, and that more money could be made by selling a few than a great many. He forced these views on a group of mine-owners, and together they bought out their rivals and formed an exclusive ring. Within this ring there was a contest for individual supremacy in which Rhodes came out victorious. Before he was thirty he was the real controller of the diamond industry and on the way to becoming a millionaire. In reaching this position he had measured his wits with some of the keenest brains in the business world. His toughest rival had been one Barney Barnato, a Jew who had made his way to Kimberley at the beginning of the rush armed with no other weapon than sixty boxes of cigars. Selling these at a fabulous profit to the successful miners, he had then begun diamond dealing himself, and had become a rich man ; but Rhodes beat him in the struggle for supremacy.

Rhodes moved in a world peopled by men of this stamp, yet he was not altogether of it, as his Oxford career had shown. Although not what is called a scholar, he was fond of classical reading, and like many men of active mind who live in rough surroundings he found consolation in the *Meditations of the*

Roman Emperor Marcus Aurelius, a book which he kept always by him. Striving after wealth was not for him the end of existence. He wanted to be rich, not to secure an easy time, but to be able to carry out vast patriotic schemes. When he was twenty-four and had a serious attack of illness he made a will directing that his money should be spent on



A Kimberley diamond mine.

furthering emigration, on the extension of British rule over new areas, and even on the recovery of the United States to the Empire! It sounds rather fantastic, considering that he was not at that time a wealthy man, but it shows the trend of his ambitions. He made his entry into a public career when he was elected to the Parliament of Cape Colony in 1880.

At that moment South Africa was approaching a crisis. It will be remembered that after the Great Trek the migrating Boers had set up two new communities, the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, which the British Government had

recognized as independent republics. Sir George Grey had seen that the arrangement was bad for the country and had tried to bring about a federation under the British flag, and his superiors had recalled him for his pains. After that failure the Orange Free State enjoyed a peaceful existence for more than forty years, but the Transvaal drifted into troubled waters. It was a huge area for the few thousand Boers who possessed it. They were so thinly spread that each farmstead was miles from its nearest neighbours, like a ship floating on a boundless ocean with nothing in sight up to the horizon. The Boers liked this kind of life, but it was dangerous. To the east of them lay Zululand, inhabited by the most warlike race in Africa; to the north were the Matabele, a branch of the Zulus and almost as ferocious. If these and other fighting tribes should take it into their heads to make war upon the white men it would go hard with the scattered settlers. The Transvaal had a government of a sort, a President and a little assembly called the Volksraad, but the distances were so vast that the President had great difficulty in calling out a commando of a few hundred men for any military service, and his subjects had a strong objection to paying taxes.

In 1877 the Transvaal appeared to be doomed. The President had failed in a campaign against the northern tribes, and the Zulus were making ready for war. It seemed as if nothing could stop them from carrying fire and sword through the scattered settlements. The British Government therefore determined to annex the Transvaal for its own good, and to take measures for its defence. Sir Theophilus Shepstone travelled to Pretoria, the capital, and hoisted the British flag, few of the Boers raising any objection, and most of them seeming to be rather relieved than otherwise. The next task was to deal with the Zulus. A six months' war against them in 1879 opened with the loss of a British force, killed almost to the last man in the Battle of Isandhlwana. But the heroic defence of Rorke's Drift prevented the enemy from following

up his success, and the victory of Ulundi broke the Zulu power for ever. The Transvaal Boers, meanwhile, were growing discontented. They had been promised self-government, but the promise had not been fulfilled. They expected better treatment when Mr. Gladstone came into power in England in 1880, for he had made speeches in their favour. But for over six months he did nothing for them, and at the end of the year they rose in rebellion. Early in 1881 they defeated a British force at Majuba Hill in Natal, and Gladstone then decided to fight no more. So the Transvaal became an independent republic again, with Paul Kruger as its President.

Such was the position of affairs when Cecil Rhodes became a force in the Cape Parliament. His policy was broad and far-seeing. He believed in colonial liberty, but he believed also in the maintenance of the Empire. He wanted to unite South Africa under the flag; nay more, he once pointed to a map of all Africa, saying, 'That is my dream, all British.' So he set before himself the task of using his wealth and his business talent to accomplish his aim. To begin with he sought to make friends with the Dutch people of Cape Colony, hitherto angry and suspicious. In a short while he won them over, and many of them became his supporters. Kruger in the Transvaal was naturally an enemy, and no progress was yet possible in that quarter.

The key to the future of South Africa was northward expansion. The map shows that north of Cape Colony and west of the Transvaal lay the land of the Bechuanas, a Bantu tribe of more peaceful habits than the Zulus. In 1884 bodies of Transvaal Boers trekked into Bechuanaland, intending to take possession. They proclaimed two new republics, quaintly named Stellaland and the Land of Goschen. It was necessary to turn them back, or the British road to the north would be barred. A small British expedition accomplished this purpose without serious fighting, and Rhodes went with it as adviser. His common sense helped to avoid bloodshed.

When he entered the Boer camp its commander declared gloomily, 'Blood must flow!' 'First give me some breakfast', retorted Rhodes, knowing that two men find it hard to eat together and afterwards kill one another. The matter was settled peaceably, and Bechuanaland was declared a British protectorate, the southern portion becoming a British colony in 1885.

Bechuanaland was a barren country, useful mainly as a stepping stone to something more. Beyond the Limpopo River, the northern boundary of the Transvaal, lay the country of the Matabele and the Mashonas, stretching right up to the Zambezi which Livingstone had discovered. This region was healthy and fertile, fit for white men to colonize. It was also known to contain gold. There are in it some mysterious ancient buildings, made by no Kaffir hands, and old workings supposed by some to have supplied the gold for King Solomon's Jerusalem. But in modern times no civilized men had yet obtained a footing in the land. Rhodes had had his eye upon it from the first, so also had Kruger and the Boers. And in 1884 there appeared a new white power in South Africa in the shape of the Germans, who proclaimed their ownership of South-West Africa. They also lost no time in stretching forward an arm to the upper Zambezi.

Rhodes acted promptly and outstripped his rivals. In 1888 he sent a representative to make an agreement with Lobengula, the King of the Matabele. Lobengula gave mining rights in his territories, and also promised not to admit any white men other than Rhodes and his friends. In business phrase, they had secured an 'option' on Matabeleland. The next step was to ask the Home Government to declare a protectorate. Lord Salisbury, the Prime Minister, was unwilling to do so, but in 1889 he allowed the formation of the British South Africa Company to work the concessions. This body, like the East India Company of former days, has a charter from the Crown, and so is commonly known as the Chartered Company. With Rhodes as its director there was

no difficulty in raising the money required, and the Company quickly got to work, introducing settlers, opening mines, organizing a force of mounted police, and pushing on the construction of railways to link up the territory with the Cape and with the east coast. All this activity was rather more than Lobengula had bargained for. He and his Matabele discovered that civilization meant that they could no longer massacre the Mashonas and other subject tribes when they thought fit. They became very discontented, and broke into revolt in 1893. In the war which followed the Company's forces compelled them to submit. In general the Matabele made a poor resistance, but one party of them turned upon Major Wilson and a small body of Englishmen who had advanced too boldly, and wiped them out to the last man.

The new country thus acquired has been named Rhodesia after its leading man. Southern Rhodesia extends up to the Zambezi. Its white population has now grown to over 30,000, and in 1922 its settlers received a grant of responsible government under ministers chosen by themselves. But the Company did not stop at the Zambezi. It pushed its railway across that river by a bridge near the Victoria Falls, and opened a trade in Northern Rhodesia. This part still remains under its control, for its climate is tropical, and it is not attractive to white colonists.

By the occupation of Rhodesia the British beat the Boers in the race to the north, and the republics were almost surrounded by British territory. In the Transvaal itself great changes had been taking place, which were destined to bring about a war for the supremacy of South Africa. In 1885-6 the Witwatersrand, a range of hills to the south-west of Pretoria, was discovered to be full of gold. But the deposits were not of the sort found in Australia in 1851, where individual diggers could collect grains and nuggets from loose earth. On the Rand the gold was embedded in hard rock, needing explosives and heavy crushing machinery for its extraction. Money was therefore wanted to start the new mines, and capitalists

like Cecil Rhodes took a leading part in forming the mining companies. Powerful outsiders thus obtained a footing within the Transvaal. In addition they brought their English employees with them, for the Boer farmers were not the stuff of which mining engineers, office workers, and mechanics could be made. So it happened that by 1895, ten years after the mines had been started, there were at least as many British (called Outlanders) as Boers within the country. The Outlanders were all collected about the Rand, whose chief settlement, Johannesburg, speedily became the largest town in South Africa. The Boers remained thinly spread over the vast countryside, their seat of government being at Pretoria.

The Outlanders soon began to complain about their treatment. They were allowed no votes and returned no members to the Volksraad. No schools were provided for their children, and no money was spent upon sanitation and such other services as modern man deems essential. But the Volksraad so arranged taxation that the Outlanders paid nine-tenths of the taxes of the whole country. The Boer, on his side, had a reasonable reply. He argued that the country was his, and that he had not invited his unwelcome guests into it. If they did not like their treatment they were free to go away. President Kruger held this view very strongly, and refused all concessions. The contest raged over the right to vote. If the Outlanders could obtain it they were numerous enough to overturn Kruger and set up a government more to their liking. Kruger knew this and determined that they should have no votes. After many years of argument the Outlanders lost hope of a peaceful settlement and began to think of rebellion.

Cecil Rhodes was a leading mine-owner. He was now very rich and certainly the most powerful man—save perhaps Kruger—in South Africa. Events developed into a duel between them. In 1890 Rhodes became Prime Minister of Cape Colony, supported by both the British and Dutch of



DR. JAMIESON and his men being escorted as prisoners after the Battle of Doornkop.
By permission of the Editor of *The Illustrated London News*.

the province. As he watched the struggle in the Transvaal he came to the conclusion that only fighting could decide the issue, and he was drawn into making the great mistake of his life. In 1895 he hatched a conspiracy with the leading Outlanders on the Rand. They were to rise in rebellion and overthrow Kruger, and they were to be assisted by the mounted troops of the Chartered Company under the command of Dr. Jameson, the Administrator of Rhodesia and a personal friend of Rhodes. Jameson was provided with a letter appealing for help from Johannesburg, with the date left blank to be filled in when the time came.

Everything was ready at the close of 1895, but at the last moment there was a hitch. The Johannesburg conspirators wanted to reform the government of the Transvaal, but to keep it an independent republic ; Rhodes, on the other hand, wished to hoist the British flag and rush the Home Government into annexation. His judgement was at fault, for the British Empire is built upon respect for the law and the rights of others, and Lord Salisbury, then Prime Minister, was not the man to countenance an adventure which smacked of piracy. Whilst the plotters were still debating and unready to act, Dr. Jameson took the bit between his teeth and invaded the Transvaal with a force of a few hundred men. At the last moment Rhodes realized the mistake which was being made, and tried to stop him. But he was too late. Jameson penetrated far into the Transvaal, found no support awaiting him, and had to surrender to a Boer commando. To cap the whole futile business, Mr. Alfred Austin, the Poet Laureate, published a poem about rescuing ' the girls in the gold-reef city ', a composition which added little credit to the movement.

The results of the Jameson Raid were disastrous, both for Cecil Rhodes and for those British interests which he was seeking to advance. President Kruger was enabled to appeal to the world as an injured innocent struggling against oppression. He had now a good excuse for refusing the vote to the

Outlanders, for he could describe them as dangerous revolutionaries. He played this card with skill, taxing the mining interest more heavily than ever, and using the money to purchase rifles and heavy guns for a war against the British. In addition, the Boers of the Orange Free State, who had no quarrel of their own with England, were convinced that they also were in danger of losing their freedom. They threw in their lot with Kruger and promised to support him in the coming war.

At the Cape, all the good work of Rhodes in making friends with the Dutch was undone. When the news became known his supporters turned against him and drove him from office. The British South Africa Company was also implicated, for Jameson and his men were its servants. It narrowly escaped the loss of its charter. Kruger was persuaded to hand over Jameson and the other raiders for trial by the British authorities. They received short sentences of imprisonment, some of which were not served in full.

Rhodes, in spite of his great services to the Empire, was in danger of serious punishment. It was fortunate for him that Kaiser Wilhelm of Germany chose this moment for a display of his hatred of England. He sent a telegram to Kruger congratulating him on his victory in effusive terms. At once the indignation of England was diverted against the Kaiser, and Rhodes was for the moment overlooked. The British fleet was sent to sea, and the Kaiser had to apologize for his interference. Rhodes never regained his position at the Cape. But he had one thing left to him, Rhodesia, the darling of his heart. In 1896 there was a last Matabele rising. The rebel chiefs in the Matoppo Hills took up a position which would have been difficult to attack. Rhodes risked his life to obtain a peaceful settlement. He went unarmed into the savage camp, and after long and dangerous arguments succeeded in his object. At one moment he and the two white men with him were face to face with death, for the Matabele grasped their spears and prepared to kill. His calm courage faced them down, and the danger passed.

The Outlander dispute dragged on wearily for two years more. Kruger, an old man, narrow and obstinate, hardened his heart and refused to yield. He may honestly have believed that he was in danger of a British conquest ; certainly many of his Boers believed it. The British on their side believed that there was a Boer plan to drive them from South Africa, and Kruger's actions gave ground for the idea. Kruger undoubtedly trusted that in the event of war the European Powers would interfere on his behalf. The Kaiser's telegram encouraged that delusion ; yet when war came, Wilhelm II looked on and did nothing. In 1899 the position of affairs became unbearable. British troops were ordered to South Africa. Kruger demanded that they should be sent back, and when that was refused he declared war. The Orange Free State joined him.

The Boers at the outset proved the stronger. They were numerous and well armed. They crossed the frontier on all sides, and laid siege to Ladysmith in Natal, and Kimberley and Mafeking in the west. We are here concerned with the fortunes of Cecil Rhodes. On the outbreak of war he went to Kimberley to throw in his lot with his own employees at the diamond fields. He took an active part in the defence, and had much to do with its success. The siege lasted from October 1899 to February 1900, when Sir John French's cavalry drove off the Boers and effected the relief. Rhodes's health now became weak, and he retired to his house near Cape Town. He died in March 1902, just before the war ended. He was buried by his own request in the Matoppo Hills, on the spot where he had faced the Matabele chiefs six years before.

The imperial idea was strong in him to the last. He left the greater part of his fortune of six millions for public purposes. Perhaps the best known of his bequests was that for establishing scholarships at Oxford for men from the Dominions, the United States, and Germany. His object was to promote goodwill and unity, particularly among the English-speaking peoples.



VIII. LORD KITCHENER

HORATIO HERBERT KITCHENER was born in 1850 in Ireland, although his family hailed from the same East Anglian country which had already produced Nelson, another great Horatio. Kitchener passed his early years in Ireland, Switzerland, and France. In 1868 he entered the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich, and passed out two years later, qualified for the Royal Engineers. Before he obtained his commission he slipped over to France and served as a volunteer against the German invaders who overran that country in 1870. England was neutral in the war of 1870, and Kitchener found himself in hot water on his return. He was called before the Duke of Cambridge, the Commander-in-Chief, and received from him a very ferocious lecture on the enormity of his offence; but, having discharged the duty of his office, the Duke added in a milder voice: 'I am bound to say that in your place I should have done the same thing.' Forty-two years afterwards the French Government sent to Earl Kitchener the medal for the campaign of 1870-1.

Kitchener's early years in the service were spent in Palestine and Cyprus on surveying work. He made maps of regions hitherto not scientifically examined and built up a reputation for thoroughness and resource. Whilst in Cyprus in 1882, he heard of trouble in Egypt. He obtained a week's leave and reached Alexandria in time to be present on board the British

fleet at the bombardment of that port. The fighting prevented him from getting back within his week, and there was some displeasure from his superiors on his return.

The events in Egypt forced Great Britain to take over the management of that country. Its nominal ruler was the Khedive, a vassal prince of the Sultan of Turkey. But the Khedive had ruled badly, the treasury was bankrupt, the peasantry cruelly oppressed, and all departments of the state were in hopeless disorder. Sir Evelyn Baring, afterwards Lord Cromer, took charge as British Agent, and began the process known as the British regeneration of Egypt. He appointed Englishmen to work with and improve the dishonest Egyptian officials, abolishing slavery and barbarous punishments, and stopping the wholesale thefts of public money which were going on. When Lord Cromer retired in 1907, Egypt had improved out of all knowledge. The peasants were becoming prosperous, and the population had nearly doubled since 1883. No Egyptian service was in a worse state than the army at the beginning of this period. It was a rabble of unwilling conscripts under officers who were more ready to plunder their countrymen than to fight in their defence. It had to be reconstructed from the bottom, and for this purpose British officers were taken into the service. Kitchener, leaving his surveying work, was one of the first of these. He was placed in the cavalry, becoming major and then lieutenant-colonel in 1884.

To add to the troubles of Egypt, in 1883 a revolt broke out in its southern provinces of the Sudan. The Sudanese had good cause for discontent, for the Egyptian pashas who should have governed them had for years been plundering and slave-raiding far and wide. The oppressed people gave ready ear to a leader who proclaimed that he would deliver them. He styled himself the Mahdi, and announced that he had a divine mission to purify the Mohammedan religion and expel the Egyptians from the Sudan. He made rapid headway, although when he was victorious the Sudanese found

that they had but exchanged one tyranny for another. The Egyptian army at this time was in no state to put down the revolt, neither had Egypt the money for a war. The British Government, then under Mr. Gladstone, was also unwilling to undertake the work. It therefore decided to abandon



LORD KITCHENER

the Sudan to the Mahdi. There were some Egyptian garrisons in the rebellious area which needed to be brought away, a difficult task when the whole country was swarming with fanatical Dervishes, as the Mahdi's followers were called. The Government appointed General Charles George Gordon to go out and superintend the evacuation of the Sudan. He reached Khartum and was there surrounded and besieged

by the Mahdi in 1884. Indeed, he had no great desire to get away, for he believed the evacuation to be a mistake. He would have preferred to deliver the country and take it under British protection—to ‘smash the Mahdi’, in his own words.

The Gladstone Government at home was now faced with the necessity for sending out an expedition to rescue Gordon. It was in a very bad temper at having to do so, on account of the expense, and it delayed so long that when the expedition did go it was too late. Towards the end of 1884 the British troops ascended the Nile to Korti, and thence crossed the Bayuda Desert in order to cut off a great bend of the river. In the desert they fought two desperate battles with the Dervishes, and cleared them out of the way. But Gordon had now been besieged for nearly a year, his provisions were finished, and his men were too weak to hold the walls of Khartum. As the British approached the Mahdi broke in. There was a massacre in the streets, and Gordon fell beneath the spears of the Dervishes on 26th January, 1885. The Government then called back the relieving force, and left the Sudan to the tender mercies of the fanatics for more than ten years to come.

During those years Kitchener worked hard to make the Egyptian army fit for the task which he knew must one day be faced—the reconquest of the Sudan. He had served in the campaign of 1884, and had shared the disappointment of the expedition which through no fault of its own had started too late. Afterwards he was commandant for two years of the town of Suakin, looking out over the Dervish country from the shore of the Red Sea. At Suakin he was severely wounded in a fight with the enemy, and had to go back to Cairo to recover. In 1892 he became Sirdar, or Commander-in-Chief, of the Egyptian army.

The Mahdi died of smallpox soon after the fall of Khartum. His successor took the title of Khalifa, and thoroughly consolidated his power over the Sudan. He did so at a terrible

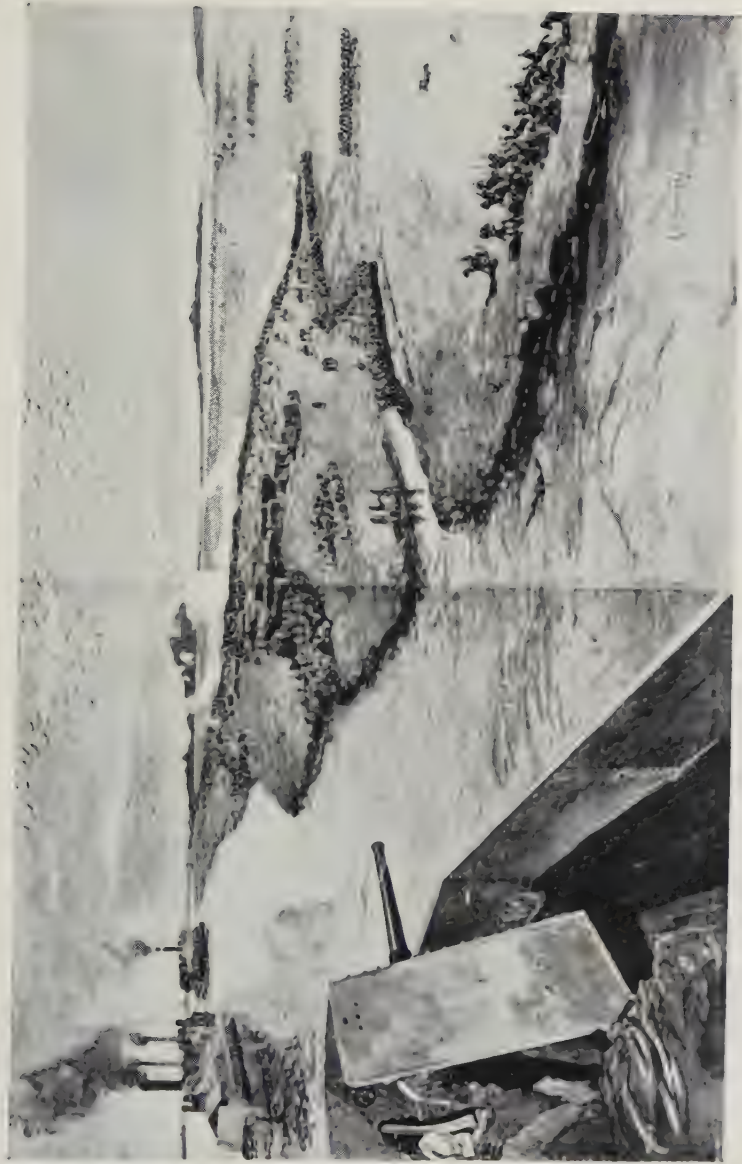
cost of life to its more peaceful inhabitants. The Dervish warriors, led by the Khalifa's emirs, raided far and wide, levying tribute on the settled tribes, massacring any who resisted, and leaving famine and pestilence in their wake. It was reckoned that in fifteen years the population was reduced to less than half its strength at the outbreak of the Mahdi's rebellion. If ever there was a good case for a civilized power to make war upon a band of savages, it was here; the reconquest of the Sudan meant the smashing of a vile tyranny. This was only gradually understood in England, where at the outbreak of the troubles Gladstone had described the Mahdi's followers as 'a people rightly struggling to be free'. Gordon had given his life to make the real truth prevail, yet for a long time it seemed that he had died in vain. At last, in 1896, the British Government decided to sanction the advance, and Kitchener took the field with his Egyptian army.

It was not a very large army, but its sixty British officers had made it very efficient, and its commander knew exactly what



he meant to do and how to set about it. Most British wars have begun in a happy-go-lucky fashion amid dense ignorance of the country to be attacked and the strength of the enemy's forces. Kitchener's method was not like this. For years his secret agents had been passing hither and thither in the Sudan, reporting on wells and tracks, intriguing with friendly chiefs, studying the ways of the Khalifa and his advisers, counting the Dervish forces almost to a man. Consequently, when the word was given, Kitchener had a very correct idea of his enemy's strength and how to get at him. He foresaw that the Sudan could not be conquered with a rush; its thirsty deserts would take a terrible revenge on men who advanced into them without due preparation. So he determined to lay a railway step by step as the army moved forward, thus being able to supply his troops with the food and water which the desert would not yield.

The work began in 1896, the railway shooting forward at a great rate. On one occasion three miles of track were laid down in a single day. The Egyptian troops, in good heart, defeated a Dervish army at Firket, and by the end of the year Dongola, an important point on the Nile, fell into Kitchener's hands. Next year the advance and the railway work continued, and it was then decided to send out some regiments of the British Army to assist in the final movement of 1898. The Khalifa was keeping back his main body, intending to fight the great battle outside Omdurman, the Dervish capital which had grown up on the opposite bank of the Nile to Khartum. The Mahdi had left a prophecy that the plain of Omdurman should be white with bones, and the faithful had no doubt that they would be the bones of the invaders. A Dervish advance-guard, however, was sent to make a stand on the River Atbara, a tributary of the Nile. Kitchener attacked and routed it, Highlanders, Egyptians, and Sudanese charging together and scattering the Dervishes at their own game of hand-to-hand fighting. Then the whole army moved southwards up the Nile to Omdurman.



THE BATTLE OF OMDURMAN. The British forces are shown with their backs to the Nile. The gunboats are firing over their heads at the Dervishes in the plain beyond. By permission of the Editor of *The Illustrated London News*.

Within sight of the city they halted and formed line of battle in a crescent with their backs to the river. Kitchener's strength lay in the new magazine rifles, then to be used for the first time in a great battle. They could be fired far more rapidly than any firearm of the past ; in fact the only weapon which had ever approached them in this respect had been the longbow of Crecy and Agincourt, and whilst the bow had a range of a hundred yards, the rifle would kill at two thousand. The Khalifa foolishly gave his enemy every advantage. He brought out his Dervish host to the attack in full daylight, when the riflemen could take deadly aim. The result was as Kitchener had planned. The Dervishes fought like heroes and fell in thousands, never having any chance of breaking the British line. A few British and Egyptians were killed, most of the former in a charge of the 21st Lancers, who rode through a great mass of Dervishes in a dry river-bed. Then the Khalifa's host melted away, he himself taking flight to Kordofan in the south. Kitchener entered Omdurman, and thence crossed the river to Khartum, where a memorial service was held on the scene of Gordon's death.

For a little more than a year Kitchener had charge of the Sudan. His chief care on coming to England after the victory was to raise a fund for a college at Khartum. It was named after Gordon, and its purpose was to begin the education of the people in the arts of peace. They sorely needed peace and good government, and now they were to obtain both, for the work of reconstruction in the Sudan, started by Kitchener, has never looked back. British officials have brought prosperity such as was never seen before. The Khalifa did not long survive as a centre of disturbance. About a year after the Battle of Omdurman a British force rounded him up in the desert. He and his emirs refused to surrender. When the day went against them they spread out their praying carpets and sat calmly waiting for the bullet which should finish them. Their crimes had been great, but they died like men.

At the close of 1899, Lord Kitchener—he had received a peerage after Omdurman—was called away from the Sudan to take part in the South African War. We have already seen how the war arose, and the parts played by Kruger and Cecil Rhodes in the events which preceded it. In the early stages it was evident that the Boers were very well prepared ; they had plenty of men and rifles, and their big guns were heavier than anything the British possessed. The British forces were outnumbered, and there had been little attempt to study the enemy and his country. The war, in fact, was begun with complete neglect of the principles which Kitchener had used in the Sudan—there was no preparation and no plan of action. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Boers had all the early successes. They shut up the British Natal force in Ladysmith and besieged it there, beating off at the Battle of Colenso the effort of Sir Redvers Buller to relieve the place. On the other side of the war area they besieged Sir Robert Baden-Powell in Mafeking, and also the mining centre of Kimberley. Lord Methuen tried to relieve Kimberley, won three hard-fought actions, and then, like Buller, was defeated and held up at Magersfontein.

These reverses occurred in December 1899, in what is known as ‘ the Black Week ’. The remedy seemed to be to send out more men and new commanders. The Government appointed Lord Roberts to the chief command, with Lord Kitchener as his chief of staff. They sailed without delay, Kitchener hurrying through the Mediterranean in a warship and meeting Roberts at Gibraltar. At the same time a large number of English Yeomanry and Volunteers went into training for the front, and the dominions of the Empire—Canada, Australia, and New Zealand—also raised bodies of picked men. South Africa had been putting her own men into the field from the beginning. This was the first war in which these non-regular soldiers had been used on any large scale. It was soon found that their intelligence and keenness made up for their lack of experience.

Roberts and Kitchener arrived in South Africa early in 1900, and in a very short time prepared to change the aspect of the war. To Kitchener fell the kind of work in which he had excelled in the Sudan, the collection of stores and of numbers of mules, horses, oxen, and wagons for transport. He found that much of the want of success hitherto had been due to neglect of these matters. The British armies had never been able to move far from the railway lines by which they were fed, and the Boers, knowing this, had waited for them in strong positions close to the lines. The Boers were now to learn in a disagreeable fashion that new men and new methods were in the field.

By the middle of February, Roberts and Kitchener were ready to strike. They had kept their secrets very well, and no hint of their plans had leaked out. Then suddenly Sir John French appeared where he was little expected, and led a body of cavalry to the relief of Kimberley. By their ability to quit the railway line these troops had marched right round General Cronje, the Boer leader who was covering the siege. Cronje now became alarmed for his own position, and began to draw off up the Modder River towards the interior of the Orange Free State. British columns by hard marching surrounded him at Paardeburg Drift. Lord Kitchener, coming upon the scene, ordered an immediate attack. It did not succeed in taking the Boer position, but it drew the cordon very tightly round it and rendered escape impossible. Before the battle Cronje's burghers were mounted. They saved themselves from the British fire by sheltering in trenches, but they could not save their horses. The result was that Cronje was deprived of his means of riding through the British lines by night, as his whole force had only twenty horses left. He surrendered a week later with 4,000 men.

The British Army quickly advanced upon Bloemfontein, the capital of the Free State. At the same time Buller's forces in Natal were at last successful in relieving Ladysmith, and the Boers were everywhere rolled backwards. Lord

Roberts, having annexed the Free State, invaded the Transvaal. He took Johannesburg in May and Pretoria in June. Mafeking, the last of the British garrisons besieged by the



GENERAL CRONJE after the surrender.

Boers, was relieved at this time. Baden-Powell, with a handful of men, had made a great defence, and the whole Empire rejoiced that a good sportsman had carried out his bat at the close of the innings. With the fall of Pretoria, followed by the flight of Kruger to Europe, there was a pause in the

war, and many people thought it was coming to an end. The Boers, however, were not yet broken in spirit. They could no longer hold regular positions and fight pitched battles, but they organized themselves in swift mounted commandos under active generals, and it needed nearly two years more of patient work to hunt them down. Lord Roberts, an old man, returned home at the end of 1900, leaving the command in Lord Kitchener's hands.

Kitchener was never a man to indulge in vague and lazy hopes that all would be well. He knew that the basis of hope was work, not luck. He therefore set steadily to work dividing up the vast country into areas, which he fenced off with lines of barbed wire and blockhouses—little forts—so as to restrict the incursions of the Boer horsemen. Then, as he lessened the area in which the enemy were free to roam, he hunted them ever more closely with flying columns of mounted men. The results were sure, but they were slow to show themselves, for the Boers knew the country and they were fine horsemen and marksmen, and in their generals, De Wet, Botha, and Smuts, they found men of genius to lead them. It was a game at which the British mounted troops took a long time to perfect themselves.

The effect of Kitchener's measures was to convince many of the Boers that they had no hope of winning. Early in 1901 he had an interview with General Louis Botha, one of the finest men and best soldiers on the Boer side. Kitchener and Botha respected each other, and would have made peace then if the Home Government had sanctioned the terms. But they were compelled to break off the negotiations on a minor point—the pardon of those Dutchmen of Cape Colony who had joined the enemy. Botha felt that he could not honourably desert these allies, and the Government insisted that they must be punished. Kitchener would have yielded the point, but he was overruled, and the war went on for another year. At last the long struggle drew to a close in May 1902. The most obstinate were convinced that further



A BLOCKHOUSE ATTACKED BUT ALERT

By permission of the Editor of *The Illustrated London News*.

resistance was useless, and there was a general desire for peace. The terms were signed at Vereeniging. They provided that the Transvaal and the Orange Free State should become parts of the British Empire, and that they should receive responsible government as soon as possible.

Generals Botha and Smuts worked loyally to carry out the spirit of the peace, that of burying the past and reconciling the British and Boers of South Africa. In future there was to be equality between the two races, not domination of the one by the other. It was the dream towards which Rhodes had worked by other means, but which he did not live to see realized. By 1910, eight years after the last shot had been fired, the old enemies agreed to join under a single government, and the Union of South Africa took its place as a great unit of the Empire with the Commonwealth of Australia and the Dominions of Canada and New Zealand. Louis Botha was the Union's first Prime Minister, an office which he held until his death in 1919. His successor was General Smuts.

Kitchener's next employment was that of Commander-in-Chief of the Indian Army. There again he found a great organizing work to be done. The forces were cut up into small detachments and scattered all over the country, so that efficient training in time of peace was impossible. Kitchener altered this, forming nine strong divisions which could be properly trained and kept in readiness for war. Also he exerted himself to make life more comfortable for the soldiers, both British and Indian. Like Nelson, he exacted a hard day's work from his men, but he was determined that they should receive a full day's pay for it, and that their leisure time should be made as happy as possible. But for his reforms India would not have been able to play the part she did in the Great War of 1914.

He left India in 1909, and two years later became British Agent and Consul-General in Egypt, Lord Cromer having retired some time before. The modest title covered a formidable fact, for the British Agent was really the ruler of Egypt.

Signs of unrest were already appearing in that country, but under Kitchener's direction the troubles did not become really serious. After his departure much of the solid benefit of



BY THE KING, A PROCLAMATION

**For Calling Out the Army Reserve and Embodying the
Territorial Force.**

GEORGE R.I.

WHEREAS by the Reserve Forces Act, 1892, it is, amongst other things, enacted that in case of imminent national danger or of great emergency it shall be lawful for Us by Proclamation, the occasion having first been communicated to Parliament, to order that the Army Reserve shall be called out on permanent service; and by any such Proclamation to order a Secretary of State from time to time to give and, when given, to revoke or vary such directions as may seem necessary or proper for calling out the forces or force mentioned in the Proclamation or all or any of the men belonging thereto:

AND WHEREAS the present state of Public Affairs and the extent of the demands on Our Military Forces for the protection of the interests of the Empire do, in Our opinion, constitute a case of great emergency within the meaning of the said Act and We have communicated the same to Parliament.

AND WHEREAS by the Territorial and Reserve Forces Act, 1907, it is, amongst other things, enacted that immediately upon and by virtue of the issue of a Proclamation ordering the Army Reserve to be called out on permanent service it shall be lawful for Us to order Our Army Council from time to time to give and, when given, to revoke or vary such directions as may seem necessary or proper for embodying all or any part of the Territorial Force, and in particular to make such special arrangements as they think proper with regard to units or individuals whose services may be required in other than a Military capacity:

NOW, THEREFORE, We do in pursuance of the Reserve Forces Act, 1892, hereby order that Our Army Reserve be called out on permanent service, and We do hereby order the Right Honourable Herbert Henry Asquith, one of Our Principal Secretaries of State, from time to time to give and, when given, to revoke or vary such directions as may seem necessary or proper for calling out Our Army Reserve or all or any of the men belonging thereto.

AND WE do hereby further order Our Army Council from time to time to give and, when given, to revoke or vary such directions as may seem necessary or proper for embodying all or any part of the Territorial Force, and in particular to make such special arrangements as they think proper with regard to units or individuals whose services may be required in other than a Military capacity.

Given at Our Court at Buckingham Palace, this Fourth day of August,
in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and fourteen,
and in the Fifth year of Our Reign.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

thirty years of British reform was lost in the confusion of the Great War.

In the summer of 1914 Kitchener was in England on a visit. At the end of July black clouds rolled up over Europe and the world. Germans, Austrians, Frenchmen,

and Russians engaged in a desperate and long-expected struggle, and on 4th August the British Empire was obliged to take part or to forfeit both honour and safety. All officials were needed at their posts, and Kitchener was at Dover on his way back to Egypt when he was recalled to a greater duty in London. In a fortunate hour the Government had decided to make him Minister for War and to give him control of the nation's military effort.

The idea of most people was that our small regular army, aided perhaps by a few picked Territorials, should fight overseas, whilst the remaining forces should guard the coast against invasion. Kitchener saw from the first that this would not be enough. To defeat the Germans would require long years and millions of men. The millions of men were there, but hardly any of them had ever put on a uniform or touched a rifle. The stupendous task was to enlist them, arm and train them, and send them to the front whilst the little band of Regulars and Territorials gained the necessary time by holding back the enemy. Kitchener not only saw the need but supplied it. His whole life had been a series of rehearsals for the task, and he now performed it as no other man could have done. The power of his name called forth the recruits, produced contentment amid discomforts and patience amid adversities to which there seemed no end. He worked without rest, kept his counsel, and indulged in no loud speech-making, such as that by which a lesser man would have sought applause from the public. His reward was that the nation trusted him, and his labours were crowned with success. When an attempt was made in 1915 to undermine his credit with the people and the army, its authors were overwhelmed by a storm of furious indignation. England may have been ignorant of the art of war, but she knew at least the marks of a true man and a great soldier.

Kitchener was not destined to see the full fruits of victory gathered in. In the summer of 1916, Russia, after a series of blows from the enemy, was weakening. It was necessary



THE LOST CHIEF (June 1916)

By permission of the Proprietors of *Punch*.

to send a prominent Englishman to advise and report on what should be done for her, and the duty fell upon the Minister for War. The only open road to Russia was by the North Cape and the White Sea, and early in June Kitchener sailed in the cruiser *Hampshire*. It was less than a week after the great Battle of Jutland, and the usual measures of precaution may perhaps have been out of gear. It is said also that the secret of the voyage had been betrayed to the enemy. Whatever the cause, the *Hampshire* took a track from which the German mines had not been swept away. On one of these she struck in the height of a gale, and in a few minutes she went down. Of the whole company there were but thirteen survivors, and Kitchener was not among them.

INDEX

- Afghan War, 250-2.
 Africa, West, 16-17.
 Aix-la-Chapelle, Treaty of, 84, 86.
 Amazon Company, 55-6.
 Antigua, 60.
 Arcot, 87.
 Armada, Spanish, 25-8.
 Assaye, Battle of, 152.
 Australia, 130-5, 140, 203-16,
 217-22.
 Bangweolo, Lake, discovery of,
 242.
 Banks, Sir Joseph, 132-3, 140,
 203.
 Barbados, 58-60, 62, 66.
 Bengal, conquest of, 90-3.
 Bermudas, 40, 42.
 Rotha, General Louis, 288, 290.
 Bradford, William, 44-54.
 Brewster, William, 44, 48.
 Bristol, voyages from and trade of,
 6-8, 12.
 British South Africa Company,
 270-1.
 Buccaneers, The, 66.
 Buxton, Sir T. F., 186.
 Cabot, John, 5-12.
 Cabot, Sebastian, 8-10.
 Cadiz, Drake at, 24.
 Calcutta, 82, 89-90.
 Canada, 95-8, 100-11, 112-24,
 191-202.
 Canadian Constitutional Act,
 122-4.
 Caribs, The, 56-8.
 Carleton, Sir Guy (Lord Dor-
 chester), 112-24.
 Carlisle, Earl of, 60, 62, 66.
 Cartagena, Drake at, 23.
 Chandernagore, 89.
 Clapham Sect, The, 182.
 Clive, Lord, 80-94.
 Columbus, Christopher, 4, 6, 8.
 Cook, Captain James, 104, 125-40.
 Copenhagen, Battle of, 166.
 Culloden, Battle of, 98.
 Cumberland, Duke of, 98-9.
 Dalhousie, Lord, 255-7.
 Darling River, discovery of, 206.
 Drake, Sir Francis, 13-29.
 Dunes, Battle of the, 68.
 Dupleix, Joseph François, 84-8.
 Durham, Lord, 189-202.
Durham Report, The, 197-200.
 Dutch Wars, 70-5.
 East India Company, 32, 75, 80-
 94, 142-3, 153-4, 247-8, 262.
 Egypt, British in, 278, 290-1.
 Elizabeth, Queen, 13, 20, 22.
 Eyre, E. J., 214-15.
 Fort St. David, 84.
 Fox, Charles James, 180, 183.
 Francis, Sir Philip, 143-4.
 French Revolution, 159.
 Gilbert, Sir Humphrey, 12, 30-1.
 Gordon, General, 279-80.
 Gravelines, Battle of, 26.
 Gray's *Elegy*, 111.
 Great Trek, The, 226, 236.
 Grey, Sir George, 217-32.
Gulliver's Travels, 132.
 Haiti, 182, 184-5.
 Hastings, Warren, 142-4.
 Hawkins, Sir John, 16-18, 29.
 Henry VII, 2, 3, 6, 7.
 Hudson's Bay Company, 75, 95,
 202.
 Iceland fishery, 3.
 India, British, 80-94, 142-55, 247-
 63, 290.
 India Act, Pitt's, 144.
 Indian Mutiny, 257-62.
 Industrial Revolution, 176-8, 189,
 190.
 Invasion of England, Napoleon's
 plans for, 166-70.

- Jamaica, 64-6.
 James, Duke of York (James II), 67-78.
 Jameson Raid, 274-5.
 Jamestown, 33, 38, 39, 41.

 Kimberley diamond fields, 265-6.
 Kitchener, Lord, 277-94.
 Kruger, Paul, 269, 272, 274-5, 276, 287.

 Lawrence, Sir Henry, 249-60.
 Lawrence, Sir John, 249-63.
 Livingstone, David, 233-46.
 Louisbourg, 96, 100-2, 128.

 Mackenzie, W. L., 196-7.
 Madras, 82, 83-4, 86.
 Magellan, Strait of, Drake in, 20.
 Marathas, wars with, 149-54.
 Maryland, 42.
 Massachusetts, 53, 54.
Mayflower Compact, 50.
 Mir Jaffir, 90-2.
 Missionary societies, 233-4.
 Montcalm, Marquis de, 105-11.
 Montreal, 95, 111, 118.
 Morgan, Sir Henry, 66.
 Murray River, discovery of, 210-12.
 Mysore, conquest of, 147.

 Napoleon, 145, 163, 165, 166-70.
 Navigation Acts, 70, 158.
 Navy, The, 23-4, 74-5, 76, 156-71.
 Nelson, Lord, 156-71.
 New Brunswick, 122.
 New England, 43.
 Newfoundland, 6, 12, 30, 42, 95, 96.
 New Jersey, 72.
 Newport, Christopher, 33.
 New South Wales, 203-4, 218.
 New York, 70-2.
 New Zealand, 130-5, 222-6, 231-2, 234.
 Nile, Battle of the, 163-5.
 Nombre de Dios, 18, 20.
 North, Captain Roger, 55.
 North-West Passage, search for, 10, 16, 32, 136, 138.
 Nova Scotia, 95, 96, 122.
 Nyassa, Lake, discovery of, 239.

 Ohio, 97.
 Omdurman, Battle of, 284.
 Oudh, 148-9.

 Papineau, L. J., 194, 196.
 Penn, William, 76.
 Pennsylvania, 76.
 Philip II, 22-5.
 Pilgrim Fathers, 44-54.
 Pitt, William (the elder), 98, 100, 103.
 Pitt, William (the younger), 122, 144, 179-80, 183.
 Plassey, Battle of, 91-2.
 Plymouth Colony, 49-54.
 Pocahontas, 37, 40, 42.
 Pondicherry, 83, 84.
 Powell, Captain John, 58-60.
 Puritans, The, 44-5, 53.

 Quebec, 95, 104-11, 119-20.
 Quebec Act, 115-16.

 Raleigh, Sir Walter, 31-2.
 Rand gold mines, 271-2.
 Regulating Act, 142, 144.
 Renaissance, The, 3-4.
 Representative government, 192-4.
 Responsible government, 198-200, 202.
 Rhode Island, 53.
 Rhodes, Cecil, 264-76.
 Rhodesia, 202, 270-1, 275.
 Royal Adventurers to Africa, 72-4.
 Royal African Company, 74.

 Sandwich Islands, 137-40.
 San Juan de Ulua, fight at, 17-18.
 Saratoga, 120.
 Sierra Leone, 181, 184.
 Sikh wars, 252-5.
 Slave trade and slavery, 16-17, 72-4, 174-88, 235-6, 238-9, 240, 243-4.
 Smith, Captain John, 32-43.
 Somers, Sir George, 40, 41.
 South Africa, 226-31, 234-8, 264-76, 285-90.
 South Australia, 212-14, 218, 219-22.

- St. Kitts, 56-8.
 St. Vincent, Battle of, 162-3.
 Standish, Miles, 48.
 Stanley, H. M., 245.
 Sturt, Captain Charles, 204-16.
 Sudan, British in, 278-84.
 Sugar planting, 62.
 Surajah Dowlah, 89-92.

 Tanganyika, Lake, discovery of, 240.
 Tasman, Abel, 130.
 Tasmania, 204.
 Teneriffe, Nelson at, 163.
 Toulon, siege of, 159-60.
 Trafalgar, Battle of, 170-1.
 Transportation, 203-4.
 Trichinopoly, 86-8.

 United Empire Loyalists, 121-2, 191, 192, 195.
 Utrecht, Treaty of, 96.

 Vasco da Gama, 4.
 Virginia, 31-42, 48.

 Wakefield, E. G., 197, 220, 223.
 War of American Independence, 117-21.
 Warner, Sir Thomas, 55-66.
 Wellesley, Marquess, 145-55.
 Wellington, Duke of, 145, 147, 152.
 Western Australia, 218.
 West Indies, 4, 16-18, 22, 29, 55-66, 178.
 Wilberforce, William, 174-88, 189.
 Winthrop, John, 53.
 Wolfe, General James, 98-111.

 York, Duke of, *see* James, Duke of York.
 Yorktown, 121, 156.

 Zambezi, discovery of, 237, 238.
 Zulu War, 268-9.

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS, OXFORD
BY VIVIAN RIDLER
PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY

